

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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GIVING THEM A CHANCE.



PUTTING AWAY THE CANE.

DAME SUFFRAGETTE: "Many of them are the same boys that gave me so much trouble last term; but there, I'll give them a chance, perhaps they'll be good and I shan't have to use it again."

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

Parliament has met. The King's Speech has been read and the leaders of the various parties and many of

the rank and file have spoken on the situation. What does it all amount to?

The Prospects of Woman Suffrage.

In the first place, Ministers have put into the mouth of the Sovereign an alteration in the power of the House of Lords as the sole legislative proposal of the present session. They have thus definitely passed over the claim of women that the House of Commons must first be placed on a firm foundation by the removal of the sex disqualification for the franchise before that House is in a position to claim predominance over the House of Lords on the ground of representing the choice of the people. The Government have, therefore, in the new Parliament taken the first step in continuance of the policy of ignoring the great agitation for woman's enfranchisement which cost them so dear in prestige and honour during the last Parliament, and which lost them so many seats at the polls.

Insecurity of the Government.

In the second place, Mr. Asquith, in pursuance of his avowed object of limiting the veto of the Lords, has selected a form of procedure which has alienated a considerable section of his supporters. He has obtained from the King no promise of special powers to enable him to override, if necessary, the opposition of the peers, nor does he propose to force the situation by holding up the Budget until the Veto Bill has been passed. The

Irish Party as a whole and a large number of Liberals and Labour men claim that this is thoroughly bad policy, and, further, that Mr. Asquith's retention of office in spite of his failure to get assurances from the King is a direct violation of his pledge at the Albert Hall meeting, which was interpreted by them and by practically the whole political world in this sense. The situation is, therefore, exceedingly grave for the Government, and even assuming that they weather the immediate storm and escape defeat in the Commons, their credit and prestige have been seriously damaged. Moreover, the form of procedure adopted by Mr. Asquith points almost inevitably to a constitutional crisis at the end of the session, necessitating a further dissolution and an appeal to the country within the twelve months.

A Warning Note.

Those, like ourselves, in whose opinion the subordination of women is the most glaring abuse of the present time, and for whom the enfranchisement of women transcends all other reforms, cannot view with any regret the difficulties and embarrassment of a Prime Minister who has shown himself opposed to the fundamental principles of liberty and justice, and who will have to be over-ridden before women can obtain their citizen rights. Nor does the fact that politicians' pledges "are not all they seem" surprise the members of the W.S.P.U., for they have learnt from their own experience this ugly fact. The present illustration of it should

convince even those women who are "trusting to Mr. Asquith's pledge on woman suffrage" that it would be well to examine very carefully the wording of Mr. Asquith's utterance on the subject, and to construe his words (as coming from an avowed opponent) in the least favourable light. They will then discover that there is nothing in the so-called pledge itself of the least value, and that the only important thing is for women themselves and for their supporters to bring such pressure to bear on the Government that they are forced to give them justice.

Private Members.

As we go to press the ballot of private members is being taken. We understand, however, that, so far as Liberal Suffragists are concerned, they have declared in advance that they do not intend to bring in a Woman Suffrage Bill, even if successful in the ballot, thus demonstrating the feeble character of their alleged sympathy. Moreover, the Government have announced their intention of taking all private members' time up to Easter. Such a proposal at the beginning of the session is unprecedented, and is an infringement of the rights of the House of Commons. We are glad to know that it is likely to be resisted by a section of the House, for it is one step further in the complete subordination of the Commons to the Executive. It is astonishing that the Government do not realise how much it weakens the case of the Commons against the Lords.

By-elections.

Members of the Union are glad of the opportunity of an active fight against the Government in the shape of a by-election at St. George's-in-the-East, where Mr. Wedgwood Benn has to seek re-election owing to his appointment as Junior Lord of the Treasury. Here lies the opportunity for the W.S.P.U. to show the Prime Minister once more that his position, already weak, will become untenable if he persists in shutting his ears to the woman's cry for justice. At St. George's-in-the-East committee rooms were taken the very day the election was announced, and a vigorous campaign has been carried forward. On Tuesday evening a large meeting was addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, who evoked great enthusiasm. Other indoor and outdoor meetings are in progress to influence the electors, while by house-to-house canvassing the workers have been getting into touch with the women and rousing them to join in the fight. A new feature of this election is the work of the Men's Political Union, which is pledged to the same policy as the W.S.P.U. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Queen's Hall referred to the increasing sympathy among men with the Suffrage movement, and declared that if the men were to help the women in large numbers no militant methods would be necessary. Full details of the election work will be found on page 337.

Adult Suffrage.

"I will not give the vote to any woman unless I give it to all men, nor will I give it to some women until I can give it to all." This was Mr. Brailsford's description of the attitude of the Adult Suffragist, who, he pointed out, was one of the greatest dangers to the Woman Suffrage movement. The danger is one that has constantly to be pointed out to the unwary, and was taken advantage of by Mr. Asquith when he suggested that Woman Suffrage might be tacked on to an Electoral Reform Bill by its supporters. He thus sought to deprive it of the support of those who were Suffragists but were not in favour of an extension of the basis of representation. Mr. Nuttall, M.P., pointed out the same danger the other day to a deputation from the North of England Society for Woman Suffrage. He said that he had always been in favour of the reform, but that the household must be made the unit. When that had been granted, those who wished to go further, having got the principle established, would then have their opportunity. He considered that the connection of Woman Suffrage with an Adult Suffrage Bill had been a set-back to the cause.

A Call to Speak.

The enormous increase of the work all over the country, the likelihood of further by-elections, and the possibility of a General Election in the near future, throws a great responsibility on woman speakers belonging to the Union. Meetings, both indoor and out, are the chief part of election work, and form the surest way of reaching the man in the street. The experience of the past four years has shown how splendidly women can argue their cause in public, and there are many hundreds of women who, with a little experience, could take their place in the ranks of speakers, and thus relieve those who have already too much to do. It is only the first step that costs, and that step is now made easy by the formation of a speakers' class in London, details of which will be found below. Members of the Union we know will not leave this call unanswered.

Mission to Women.

Side by side with the election work and the ordinary educational campaign, the great Mission to Women is now proceeding. Its object is to teach the woman who stays at home, and to make her understand what she must do for the cause, and what the cause will do for her. London members have devoted all their energies to this work during the past few weeks, and are now reaping the results. In the country the Mission will be carried on in various centres this month and next, and Mrs. Pankhurst is taking a very active part. Full details will be found on page 342-3.

Unity is Strength.

A direct result of all this educational work is the increase in membership. It will hasten the success of this great campaign if the pledged membership of the Union increases day by day. Some members can give more active help than others, but the membership pledge is one that every woman, whatever her circumstances may be, can sign, and the comradeship thus fostered will be invaluable. Before it is too late, before the victory is achieved, we appeal to women to take their part in the great battle.

An Interesting London Meeting.

The terrible case of a Frenchwoman who was chained in a dark room by her jealous husband formed a fitting text for Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's address last Monday at the Queen's Hall. It was symbolic of the attitude of some men who regarded woman as a thing that they could hold by force, and just as in that case the police, not having a key, had to smash in the doors to deliver the victim, so in this fight the women, not having the vote that opened the door to reform, had to break their way in by means of the militant methods. The meeting was of particular interest, too, as being the first Queen's Hall meeting at which Mr. H. N. Brailsford, whose sacrifices for the cause are well known, has spoken to the members of the W.S.P.U. His speech will be found reported on page 341. At the same meeting Miss Christabel Pankhurst dealt with the King's Speech, and pointed out that there was no reason whatever why a simple Bill for woman's enfranchisement could not be carried this session. She quoted with telling effect from a leader from the *Times* of February 15 in these words:—

The present case is totally different from the Reform Bill crisis. That was a measure for enfranchising a large section of the population; it had been long before the country and thoroughly discussed, and was passionately demanded. The House of Lords was refusing the right of voting to the people in face of the most clearly and repeatedly expressed demand, backed by popular risings. Here was the *Times* recognising that popular risings were the sign of a great demand, and if the women's Bill was not passed the women would have to proceed in the only way open to them, namely, by militant action. Miss Georgina Brackenbury also delighted the audience with her witty answers to the objections raised against Woman Suffrage, and pointed out that law-breakers had often in history been the best law-makers.

Progress Abroad.

There is further news this week of the progress of the Woman Suffrage movement in other countries. In Italy the Suffragists gained what the Press calls "a remarkable victory." In the Chamber of Deputies the Prime Minister, whose broad-minded attitude Mr. Asquith might well imitate, declared himself frankly in favour of the Suffrage. He said that modern legislation had not kept pace with the great advance made by women. Italy is shortly to consider a Bill granting women the right of voting at the elections for the Chamber of Commerce, another on similar lines to our Married Women's Property Act, and another permitting women to enter the professions for which they have studied. It is stated that the Premier's speech was punctuated by great applause by the ladies in the gallery, but there is no mention of their being thrown out or arrested, as would have been the case in our enlightened country. A fierce struggle is raging in Prussia over the franchise, and conflicts between the police and the demonstrators are of daily occurrence; the constitutional Prussian party say the demonstrators are "injuring their own cause." We are well accustomed to this phrase in our own struggle. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the Prussian Diet the Imperial Chancellor mentioned Woman Suffrage as one of the demands that led to the crisis.

Contents of this Issue.

In addition to the very interesting speech by Mr. Brailsford already referred to, this number contains an article by Miss Christabel Pankhurst dealing with the present political crisis and its relation to the Suffrage movement. We would also draw our readers' attention to the special article dealing with a phase of woman's work, namely, the unjust exclusion of women doctors from positions which they are perfectly competent to fill. The second chapter of Mr. Pethick Lawrence's series of articles dealing with the meaning and history of the women's fight for the vote will be found very useful for those who are still outside the movement. Several pages of this issue are devoted to the great educational work being carried on in London and the country.

Items of Interest.

Mr. Tom Wing, M.P., of Grimsby, recently stated to the local Women's Liberal Association his opinion that women were called upon to bear more than half the sorrows of the world, and he would not rest until they had the opportunity not of asking Parliament in its gracious moods to grant them some request, but of demanding in the House itself that the House should give them their rights. Women could get on the real human side of matters while men were considering pounds, shillings, and pence.

Mr. Lansbury, writing to a meeting organised to protest against the new Labour Exchanges, said of the unemployed, "I wish they had some of the spirit shown by the women in their fight for freedom."

According to the *Daily Telegraph* the number of women voters at the forthcoming L.C.C. election will be nearly 150,000 or about one-sixth of the whole.

Miss L. H. Mason, who for twenty-five years has been inspector of boarded-out Poor-law children, is now about to retire. She was the first lady ever appointed to such a post, and was the actual pioneer of the whole system of official inspection by women on behalf of their own sex. Now there are seventeen lady inspectors and fifty-two assistants.

In the recent Finnish elections fifteen women were returned to the Diet.

In Barnstaple Mr. Bowrick, the Unionist candidate, and Mrs. Bowrick have issued a joint address of thanks to the electors.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Albert Hall Meeting.

Tickets for the next great gathering of militant suffragists are selling rapidly, and immediate application should be made to Miss Cooke, ticket secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., by those wishing for the opportunity of being present. The meeting will take place in the Albert Hall on Friday, March 18, and the speakers will be Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others. Ticket prices are as follows: Stalls, 3s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony, 1s.; upper orchestra, 6d., and boxes at various prices. The 1s. and 6d. seats are for women only, and all seats are numbered except those in the upper orchestra. *The lower orchestra tickets are all sold.*

London Free Meetings.

Twice every week increasingly large audiences gather at the two free meetings held by the W.S.P.U. in London, and the growing interest in the political situation as it affects Woman Suffrage becomes more and more marked. These meetings are held every Monday afternoon at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, from 3 to 5 p.m., and every Thursday evening at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, from 8 to 10 p.m. The speakers for next week are, on Monday, Mrs. Mansel, who did such splendid work during the General Election, at Dundee and elsewhere, and the Rev. J. Cartmel Robinson (Vicar of St. Michael's, Bedford Park), well known as a strenuous champion of the women's cause; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair. On Thursday Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss G. Brackenbury will speak.

Missions to Women.

Some very interesting reports of the special Woman's Mission now being held in London will be found on pp. 343-4. Similar Missions will shortly take place throughout the country, and all sympathisers are invited to put themselves in touch with the organiser nearest to them. Particulars will be found on pp. 342-3.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst in Dublin.

In response to an invitation from the Irish Women's Franchise League, Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak at an important meeting in the Rotunda, Dublin, on March 11. Tickets, price 2s., 1s., and 6d., may be obtained from the hon. secretary of the League, Antient Concert Buildings, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin.

The Scottish Exhibition.

Little more than two months yet remain before the great event in Scotland—the Woman's Exhibition—to be held in the Charing Cross Halls, Glasgow, on April 28, 29, and 30. Scottish women especially, whether living in Scotland or elsewhere, are invited to do their utmost towards making this Exhibition a show of the strength of the movement beyond the Border. Help of all kinds will be gladly welcomed by the Exhibition secretaries, whose names will be found on page 337, or by Mrs. Drummond, 502, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

Join the Union!

Extraordinary interest in the work of the W.S.P.U. is being manifested all over the country, and those women who, though interested, have not yet definitely taken the step of identifying themselves with the Union, are invited to write to the hon. secretary for a membership form. This should be signed and returned with the entrance fee of 1s. A specimen form giving the pledge required of members will be found on page 338.

The Forcible Feeding Poster.

Among the many causes which have roused the sympathies of both men and women during the last few weeks has been the treatment of the women suffragists while in prison for the cause. A coloured poster, representing a Suffragette being forcibly fed, can now be had from the secretary, Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The poster, which is printed in four colours, may be obtained in two sizes, viz., 30 ins. wide by 60 ins. high (suitable for hoardings), price 6d., by post 7½d.; and 20 ins. by 15 ins. (suitable for windows), price 1d., by post 1½d.

Selling "Votes for Women."

No more useful propaganda work can be done than the extension of the circulation of the woman's newspaper, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and many opportunities occur both in London and throughout the country for women to help the movement in this way. In London a Poster Parade for the advertisement and sale of the paper takes place every Friday morning at 11 o'clock. Volunteers will be welcomed, and should be at Clements Inn at 10.45 ready to take part. Similar parades are held from time to time in various towns. Details will be found under Campaign Reports, pp. 342-3.

By-Elections.

A by-election in St. George's-in-the-East, London, having been rendered necessary by the appointment of Mr. Wedgwood Benn as Junior Lord of the Treasury, a vigorous anti-Government campaign was at once opened by the W.S.P.U. Details will be found on page 337. As a few days yet remain before polling takes place, volunteers are asked to communicate at once with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. W.S.P.U. workers are also in Barnstaple in view of a possible contest.

Important Meetings.

During the coming week Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at Manchester on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, February 26, March 1, and 2, and at Southport on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, March 3, 4, and 5. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Queen's Hall, London, on Monday, February 28, at 3 p.m.; and at St. James's Hall, London, on Thursday, March 3, at 8 p.m. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak at Avondale Hall, Stockwell, to-night, February 25, at 8 p.m.; at Colston Hall, Bristol, on Wednesday, March 2, at 8 p.m.; at St. James's Hall, London, on Thursday, March 3, at 8 p.m.; and at Kensington Town Hall on Friday, March 4, at 3 o'clock. Miss Pankhurst will also speak in connection with the St. George's-in-the-East By-Election campaign tomorrow and Monday (see page 337).

Speakers' Class.

In order to add to the ranks of public speakers, a Speakers' Class is being formed in London, and the first meeting will be held to-morrow (Saturday) at 2, New Road, Camden Hill (near Notting Hill Gate Station), by the kindness of the Misses G. and M. Brackenbury. An electionist will be present to give instructions. The meeting will begin at 8.30 p.m.

WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR THE VOTE.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS CHAPTER.

(The first article appeared in our issue of February 11.)

What women are asking for.—The demand which women are making is simply and solely that sex shall not of itself be a disqualification for the possession of the Parliamentary franchise. Women suffragists have accordingly drafted a Bill which they desire to see carried into law. It is known as the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, and reads as follows:—

That in all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of Members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such elections, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

The effect of the passage of this Bill will be immediately to confer the franchise upon all those women who possess the qualifications which at present entitle men to vote, and subsequently to secure that if any extension be made in the franchise law it shall affect men and women alike. It is estimated that about a million-and-a-quarter women will be immediately enfranchised by it. As there are at present between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 male voters this will mean that the female electorate will be about one-seventh of the whole.

CHAPTER II.—THE MEANING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY VOTE.

The right to put a cross on a ballot paper once in every four or five years. In some such words as these the possession of the Parliamentary vote is often described. Is the description accurate? Yes, if only the actual method of exercising the right is considered; no, if this particular formality is regarded as the begin-all and end-all of the matter. For the cross on the ballot paper is a symbol of power; it is the means selected to enable the voter to make his will felt in the government of the country.

In these days of complicated civilisation we are fully accustomed to employ symbolic acts trifling in themselves to affect large issues. In the commercial world many a man at the outset of his life has ruined his whole future by an injudicious "backing of a bill." A king, by a stroke of the pen, can consign a man to death or grant him a free pardon. The gift of a ring to a woman before the recognised authority is the symbol chosen by the law to bind man and woman together as husband and wife "till death them do part."

In precisely the same way the cross on the ballot paper is a symbolic act of citizenship. It is the means recognised by the law whereby the voter exercises his sovereign rights as one of the rulers of the country.

Its immediate effect is to enable the voter to influence the selection of the man who is to represent his district in the House of Commons. That representative, when selected, will, in a similar way, be called on to bring his influence to bear in Parliament. In the first place, he is the spokesman for that district in the House of Commons. He has a special duty with regard to any Bills which affect that district. He can bring to light any grievances affecting individuals in the district by interrogating Ministers thereon. He can use his personal influence to get local trade disputes and other matters settled satisfactorily. In the second place, he takes his share in deciding how the national taxes shall be levied and how they shall be spent. In the third place, he takes his share in deciding what new national legislation shall be carried and what old laws shall be repealed. In the fourth place, he takes his share in deciding what persons shall form the government of the country, how they shall administer the laws, and what shall be the relation of the country to foreign powers and dependencies.

Control of the Administration.

All these four powers which the electors exercise through their Parliamentary representatives are distinct. In our own history they have been acquired at different times, while in many other countries the electors still possess some only and not all of them. Particular attention should be directed to the last—the power of controlling the administration—for though this is one of the most important, yet in the discussion of woman suffrage it is not infrequently forgotten. The administration of the country is still to-day nominally, as it once was actually, in the hands of the Sovereign. In strict parlance, it is the King who chooses the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, and the other Ministers of State. It is the King who appoints the Viceroy of India, the Governor-General, etc. It is in the King's name that treaties are made with foreign powers. It is in the King's name that the internal administration of the country is carried on. But actually the voters' representatives in the House of Commons decide these matters to-day. The long struggle with the Stuarts and the steady activity of Parliament in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have left the Sovereign but the shadow of administrative power. To-day the King *must* select his Prime Minister from among that political party which commands a majority in the House of Commons, and practically he is bound to select that member of the party who is recognised as its leader. It is then the Prime Minister, and not the King, who selects the other Ministers, the Viceroys and

Governors, and who determines the treaties with foreign powers.

But the control of the electors over the administration is not confined to this initial choice. Every one of the King's Ministers, in carrying out his administrative duties, is liable not only to be interrogated in the Commons, but to a direct vote of censure should his actions be displeasing to a majority of members, and this vote of censure would necessitate immediate dismissal from office. The fact that these votes of censure are rarely, if ever, carried does not make the potentiality of carrying them of less importance, because what really takes place is that the Minister, anxious to avoid censure, takes care to bring his conduct into line with the feeling in the House of Commons before a crisis is reached. How important this control over the administration is will be realised by considering the nature of the duties which the King's Ministers have to perform. It will then be seen how vitally they affect the lives and liberties of the people of the country. Thus the President of the Board of Trade is entitled to make regulations which affect the conditions of labour; he also has wide discretionary powers of arbitration in trade disputes. The President of the Local Government Board exercises a marked influence on the policy of local bodies—notably in such questions as housing, the Poor-law, the appointment of teachers, etc., etc. The Home Secretary has wide powers of regulation under the Factory Acts; he controls the prisons; he exercises the King's prerogative of pardon; he is the head of the metropolitan police. Finally, every Department of State is a business in itself (the War Office, the Admiralty, the Post Office count their employees by hundreds of thousands), and the Minister in charge is an employer of labour, with special powers over his employees; the conditions of labour which prevail in these departments, and the regulations to which sub-contractors have to conform, not merely affect directly the lives of an enormous number of workers, but indirectly in a large measure set the standard by which other employers are guided.

The Individual Voter.

It is quite likely that many readers who have followed so far the argument as to the power which the possession of the vote confers have done so with a certain mental reservation; they have no hole to pick in the theory, but they feel that it does not work out in this way in practice. Their objection may best be expressed by being put into the mouth of a certain John Smith, independent elector for the borough of X.

"It may be true," he says, "in theory that when I cast my vote into the ballot-box I take my share in governing the country, selecting the taxes, making the laws, etc. In reality I do nothing of the kind. I am just one out of 10,378 electors on the register for X. Out of the five elections which have taken place while I have been on the register, once there was no contest, and on the other four occasions the successful candidate was returned by majorities ranging from 200 to 1,500, so that my vote has never affected the result in any conceivable way. Even if it had done so, and by an extraordinary coincidence I had exercised the casting vote and put in Mr. Jones instead of Mr. Robinson, the change in the House of Commons would have been negligible. It probably would not have altered the policy of the Government one iota. No! The importance of having the vote is a very fine theory, but it doesn't work out in practice, simply because I am only one out of seven or eight million men who have the vote. My vote has given me nothing. I should lose nothing if I did not exercise it, or even if it was taken away altogether."

From a practical point of view, John is quite right so far. If he failed to use his vote, or by some accident was deprived of it, it would make precious little difference. But John generally does not stop there; having made out a triumphant case, he proceeds to draw a deduction from it. The vote being useless to him, he argues it would be similarly useless to women. Or if he lives in Prussia to-day he is probably asking why the working people are making all this fuss and endangering their lives in encounters with the police all about nothing but the vote.

The answer is that though John was all right in his premiss, he is all wrong in his deduction. *Though it makes little or no difference whether one individual has or has not the franchise, it makes all the difference whether a whole class of individuals possesses the franchise or is excluded from it.* What one single John Smith was unable to do a whole class of John Smiths not only can, but will do.

Suppose John is a trade unionist, then he knows that at the General Election of 1906 he and his fellow trade unionists not merely secured the return of thirty Labour members to Parliament, but also in almost every constituency throughout the country obtained from Liberal candidates (on pain of losing votes) a pledge to secure the reversal by law of the Taff Vale decision; and as soon as Parliament met this law was passed. Does he think that if not merely he, but every other trade unionist, had been disfranchised such a result would have taken place? Or if the franchise had never been extended below the middle classes, does he suppose that the Workmen's Compensation Act, Old Age Pensions, the

present Budget, or a hundred other measures would ever have been introduced, let alone carried into law? Or, in the realm of administration, does he not recognise that it is because working men have votes that they have secured a certain standard of wages for men working in the Woolwich arsenal, and for men (not women) employed by the sub-contractors? Lastly, let him ask himself why the Outlanders in the Transvaal made such a determined demand for voting rights, and why white men (both English and Dutch) in that country to-day refuse to enfranchise the Kaffir population.

From these illustrations he will become convinced, to whatever section of society he may belong, that though he may profit little by his own individual vote, he profits enormously by the fact that his class or his section of society are voters. It gives to the members of his class a share in dictating the policy of the nation. It gives them a share in making such laws and decreeing such taxes as they think are good for the country and for themselves. It secures them the power to protect their own interests under the administration. And, finally, it gives to every one of them as one of the ultimate rulers of the country a status as a citizen which he could not otherwise obtain.

[The next chapter will deal with the question, "Why Women Want the Vote."]

(To be continued.)

Answer to a Question.

When women obtain the vote, will a woman be entitled to one if she is the joint occupier of a house with her husband?

Yes, provided the franchise conditions as to joint occupancy are complied with, and provided no special provision to the contrary be added (as was the case with the Local Government Act, 1894) to the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

THE WOMAN'S PRESS.

Those who enjoyed the Drummers' Union entertainment recently will be glad to know that the amusing and clever play, "The Reforming of Augustus," by Irene McLeod, will shortly be ready in pamphlet form, price 1d. Orders should be sent to the Secretary, Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The Woman's Press has also on sale a miniature portrait of Mrs. Pankhurst, in the form of a pendant framed in silver, with "Votes for Women" button on the reverse side, price 1s. 6d.

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SENT ON APPROVAL.

WOMEN DOCTORS AND THE MANCHESTER ROYAL INFIRMARY.

By a Woman Doctor.

All interested in women's movements must have been disappointed at the result of the meeting in the Town Hall, Manchester, on Friday, February 11, and some account of what led to the discussion on that day will no doubt interest readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

In 1899 the first application from women students for permission to study medicine at the Manchester Medical School was made and granted. In the following year the Royal Infirmary—the hospital at which the students train—also opened its practice to women on equal terms with men students, with the exception of one department—i.e., the male surgical out-patients' department. This reservation has since been withdrawn, and as long as they are students women have in every way equal opportunities with men; they pay the same fees, they examine the cases, they take notes and dress the cases in the beds allotted to them in both male and female wards. This holds good till they pass their examinations and qualify; then all is changed.

When a student is qualified the first thing he needs is experience. He has been taught how to recognise various diseases and how to treat them. He has been shown them in the wards and has watched them from day to day. What he needs now is to have them under his own care to learn how to handle patients, to gain assurance and confidence in the different situations which may arise. The best place to do this is in a hospital where he is acting under a good chief and in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and of interest in all the newest and best kinds of treatment. In whatever position in life he may find himself such experience is invaluable, and every hospital which trains students gives in its prospectus the list of posts available for the keen and capable graduate.

The Story of the Dispute.

The Manchester Infirmary, till 1908, was, however, in old buildings, for which it had grown too large, with the result that the accommodation for the residents was very limited. However, in 1906 a woman applied for a post as resident, and the medical staff, which now reports against women residents for any but the gynaecological post (which did not then exist) sent for her, interviewed her and inquired about possible accommodation. That she was not appointed was not remarkable, as there were several other candidates up at the same time, and it was assumed the appointment was made on the merits of the candidates alone, or because of the then real lack of accommodation.

In 1908 the Medical Board (not the medical women) brought the matter of accommodation for women residents before the Board of Management, which was then considering the new buildings erected in Oxford Road. This building covers many acres of ground, and has now 453 beds, besides containing two blocks of wards not yet opened. It has rooms for a corresponding number of nurses and doctors, large and commodious teaching theatres, reading-rooms, libraries, and common rooms for men and women students. The Board had not, however, thought of providing rooms for medical women residents, although they had had women students since 1900, and although residency is a logical result of studentship.

Twice, we are informed, did the Medical Board send up recommendations for the appointment of women residents. Then, in November, 1908, a woman applied for one of the posts, and received word that the Medical Board could not consider her application, as the Board of Management said that no provision had been made for women medical students.

The Manchester medical women, the Federation of University Women, and the medical students thereupon sent a deputation to the Board of Management, and were received on January 19, 1909. The Chairman of the Board received them in a kindly manner, but told them they ought to have come five years before. He said that to provide residential accommodation for medical women would cause great expense, and at this juncture it was not likely that they would undertake such provision.

The deputation published in the paper a short account of their interview, whereupon the Chairman made a statement that he had not intended to imply that accommodation was the only difficulty, but that the question was a larger one, and needed more consideration. A lengthy newspaper correspondence followed, showing a considerable amount of interest in the question, and by this time the annual meeting drew near.

On February 12, when friendly trustees were prepared to bring the matter forward, the chairman informed the meeting that a committee had been formed to inquire into the whole matter. Lord Derby, the president, spoke in a kindly and encouraging manner, and there for a time the matter of necessity ended. The report was awaited. For months nothing was heard. Then letters of in-

quiry were sent, and at last, on December 1, the report was issued, was unanimously adopted by the Board, and published. It is a remarkable fact that the personnel of the Committee of Inquiry has never been published.

The report, when issued, was against the women. It was self-contradictory in parts; on the one hand, it said that medical women in Manchester were so few that the Board would seldom be able to appoint one; on the other, that if posts were opened it was abundantly clear that the Board must provide accommodation of substantial extent to meet the contingency of the appointment of several women. Next it was stated that if they appointed a woman they must appoint another woman to supervise her work.

Again, they felt a woman ought not to have charge of male wards, because in the surgical wards there are things to be done for men which a woman cannot do (though women nurses do them daily in other places, if not in the infirmary), and there are things a woman cannot ask and which a man would not tell her. Therefore they came to the conclusion that a woman would not be as useful an officer as a man. They said, too, that the patients did not want a woman doctor, and the patients must be protected.

A Protest Committee Formed.

The objections have been answered again and again. A committee of people interested in the appointment of women was formed, and included many influential citizens. The editors of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Manchester City News* were staunch friends. Mrs. Tont, a distinguished graduate of the University, wrote an able pamphlet giving all the reasons why these posts should be opened. Mrs. Chapman, a former medical student, became secretary of the protest committee, and collected over 1,800 signatures to a petition to the Infirmary Board to reconsider its decision. The co-operative societies, the women workers, the women trades unionists, and many Boards of Guardians all joined in the movement. The help from working men and women clearly showed that the class of the community which enters the infirmary as patients were not averse to, but would welcome the appointment of medical women. This is sufficient refutation to one of the Board's arguments.

Finally, the Board decided to put the question before the Trustees as a matter which they had decided, and so make the motion practically equivalent to a vote of confidence in them. Naturally, the Trustees were averse to taking such a decided step as to reject this motion. A friendly trustee tried to limit the motion to one that women residents were unsuitable for the male wards only, but the Board would not accept this amendment, and it was defeated. Finally, the Board carried their motion with a large majority.

The importance of obtaining experience in general medicine and surgery is great. If women do not get it and suffer from their inexperience, the cause of medical women will suffer, inasmuch as the errors they commit will be put down to feminine incapacity rather than to inexperience. That such experience can be gained in special hospitals is untrue, for women's hospitals only treat diseases peculiar to women, and not such general diseases as rheumatism, tuberculosis, etc. Children's hospitals also, though containing general cases, are special hospitals, inasmuch as disease takes different forms in children and adults. So much is this the case that "children's diseases" is considered a special subject for examination purposes.

That there are difficulties in some of the male cases is true, as there are (and this has all along been pointed out) in female ones. That these cases can be adequately dealt with is proved by the large number of general hospitals where women are taking their full share of work quite satisfactorily. Indeed, in Ashton-under-Lyne the whole of the work, male and female, has been done by a woman. It is all a question of tact and arrangement of work. Where there are so many officers as there are in the Manchester Infirmary it is merely a case of allotting work, particularly as every officer, having had the same training, could, in an emergency, do all that is to be done.

OUR DEATH BLOW.

There are many potent reasons
Why a woman's vote should be
A dream of idle dreamers,
The wildest fantasy.

But above all other reasons
There is one must cause our fall,
That by reason of sound reason
Must out-reason one and all.

And this awful, awesome reason
That's the death-blow of our plan
Is—"A woman is a woman,
And a man—A man's a man!"

J. W.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

"I send £5 in honour of Lady Constance Lytton purely as a tribute to her good courage," wrote Miss Janie Whitaker, whose contribution was acknowledged last week. Many other such tributes have been sent. It is impossible to bracket all these gifts with the messages of love and gratitude that are sent with them. Every brave and beautiful public action done for the sake of our great cause receives a generous response in the hearts of all those who are influenced by this movement. Our strong financial position is directly due to the heroic sacrifice of the women who have braved violence, prison, and torture without regard to any thought but one—the triumph of justice and of truth. By their breath they have kindled the embers of devotion slumbering in women's hearts into a fierce flame and fire that is burning up the dross of selfishness, luxury, and ease.

I want to remind our readers that we have opened a by-election campaign in St. George's-in-the-East, London, and that if there is a contest in North Devon we shall open another there. These by-elections are critical. This Union must put forth its strength and must once again manifest its power to turn the balance of the scales. The Suffragettes are factors in the political situation to-day. This is clearly recognised, we may be sure, by both parties. I know that our readers and friends will keep us well supplied with funds for the fight.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

	Week ending February 12.		
Already acknowledged £60,342 11	1		
Miss Mary Booth.....	0 1 0	Miss Heddford	2 6
Miss C. S. Howse.....	0 5 6	Miss Webb	0 2 5
Hon. Mrs. Haverfield.....	1 5 6	Miss Parrett	0 3 5
Miss Sheila B. Stewart.....	0 1 0	Dr. Gordon Clark	0 3 5
M. M. Seymour, Esq.....	0 10 6	Miss Walsh	0 2 0
Lt.-Col. and Mrs. Kenneth M. Foss.....	2 2 0	Miss Warwick	0 2 0
Miss Elizabeth Wheaton.....	0 2 0	Miss Sentance	0 2 0
Maj.-Gen. Sir Alfred E. Turner.....	1 1 0	Miss Ferguson	0 2 0
Mrs. Curling Anderson.....	2 0 0	Miss Scale	0 1 0
Miss H. J. Pole.....	1 1 0	Miss Dallas Collie	0 1 0
Mrs. H. Toulson.....	0 0 0	Mrs. X	0 1 5
Mrs. Mona Gaird.....	2 0 0	Mrs. Tyson, Esq.....	0 2 0
Mrs. Wraith.....	0 3 6	A. von Quistorp, Esq.....	0 2 0
Mrs. G. (convert) per Mrs. Lamartine Yates.....	0 0 10	Mrs. Evans	0 2 0
In memory of Martha Harvey (doe).....	0 1 7	Mrs. Bax	0 1 0
Anon per Mrs. N. Neave.....	0 1 5	Mrs. Adcock	0 1 0
Lady Betty Shaftour.....	0 10 0	Mrs. L. Redford	0 1 0
Miss M. L. Henry.....	0 1 0	Miss Redgrave	0 1 0
Miss A. P. Williams.....	0 0 0	Miss Beard	0 2 6
"N. Nunn?".....	0 2 0	Miss Dawson	0 2 6
Hugh Gwyther, Esq.....	0 2 0	Mrs. Summerville	0 5 0
Miss E. D. Branson.....	0 2 0	Mrs. Stevens	0 1 0
Extra on V. von W.—	0 0 5	Miss Stevens	0 0 5
Per Miss Coney.....	0 0 7	Miss G. Stevens	0 0 5
Miss Sibley.....	0 2 5	Miss Stobie	0 1 0
"Friend from Vushing" G. S. Anderson, Esq.....	10 10 0	Miss Curtis	0 1 0
Miss W. A. Roberts.....	0 5 0	Miss Robinson	0 0 6
From my sister, Feb. 7th".....	0 1 0	Worsthope, Esq.....	0 1 0
Per Mrs. Griffiths.....	0 1 0	Frank Collie, Esq.....	0 5 0
Pank-a-squat," etc. (do.).....	0 3 6	M. D.	0 5 0
Mrs. E. E. Ward, News-agent (Proton. V. on W.).....	0 2 0	The Misses Scale	0 5 0
Per Miss Coney.....	0 0 5	Miss Vaughan	0 0 3
Miss C. E. Bryson.....	0 0 7	Miss T. Vaughan	0 0 3
Per Mrs. G. S. Anderson, Esq.....	0 2 6	Mrs. M. Powell	0 5 0
Miss F. McFarlane.....	3 6 0	Miss Gamble	0 5 0
Mrs. Gillie.....	4 0 0	Miss Bullock	0 2 6
Miss Ray Fyle.....	5 0 0	Miss J. Smith	0 2 6
Anon (Portobello).....	0 2 6	Mrs. V.	0 1 0
Anon	0 2 8	The Misses Bartels	0 2 0
Miss F. Hill.....	0 4 0	Mrs. Fennell	0 2 0
Per Mrs. D. Hayes.....	0 1 0	Mrs. Gilbert	0 2 9
Kensington W.S.P.U.....	0 15 0		
N.W. London W.S.P.U.....	0 12 6		
Per Miss Jeffreys and Miss Barrett—	0 2 6		
A Member	0 2 6		
Miss Ardison.....	0 10 0		
Mrs. Edmonds.....	0 10 0		
Mrs. Macmillan	0 10 0		
Mrs. Pillinger	0 10 0		
Mrs. E. Mitchell	0 1 0		
Per Mrs. Mitchell.....	2 17 6		
Miss F. McFarlane	3 6 0		
Mrs. Gillie	4 0 0		
Miss Ray Fyle	5 0 0		
Anon (Portobello)	0 2 6		
Miss F. Hill	0 4 0		
Miss Thornton	0 2 0		
Miss Urquhart	0 0 6		
Miss Crotch	0 0 6		
Miss E. Wilson	0 0 6		
Miss N. Moore	0 0 6		
Per Miss Bowker	0 0 6		
Mrs. H. Whistaker, Esq.....	1 0 0		
Mrs. Powell	0 4 6		
Miss C. M. Strangways	0 5 5		
Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	5 0 0		
Miss B. Churchill	0 12 6		
Mrs. W. Mason	0 1 0		
Doreen	0 1 0		
Per Mrs. A. Kenney	1 0 0		
G. H. Whistaker, Esq.....	0 4 6		
Mrs. Powell	0 2 6		
Miss C. M. Strangways	0 5 5		
Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	5 0 0		
Miss B. Churchill	0 12 6		
Mrs. W. Mason	0 1 0		
Doreen	0 1 0		
Per Miss McFarlane	0 1 0		
Miss A. Hutton	0 1 0		
Miss Hutton	0 8 0		
Per Mrs. Phillips	0 2 0		
Mrs. Longdon	0 2 0		

FIGHTING THE GOVERNMENT IN EAST LONDON.

ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST (LONDON).

Polling Day: March 1.

Candidates.—W. W. Benn (L.), P. G. Simmons (C.).
The figures at the General Election, 1910, were:—W. W. Benn (L.), 1,568; P. G. Simmons (C.), 1,134; Lib. Maj. 454.

W.S.P.U. Organiser: Miss Irene Dallas.

W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms: 296, Cable Street, E.

One of the most effective methods of striking a blow at the Government on account of its hostility to Woman Suffrage has ever been the by-election policy of the W.S.P.U., the appeal to the electors to vote against the Government candidate at the polls. And the first opportunity of carrying out this policy since the General Election has occurred in the small but densely populated constituency of St. George's in the East, London, where, owing to his appointment as Junior Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Wedgwood Benn is seeking re-election. Never has the woman's cause been so near a triumphant issue; never has it been so potent to show the Government (with its pretended majority) how weak it is, and how strong is the women's party.

A Great Meeting.

Directly it was announced that a contest would take place, Suffragette scouts were sent down to map out the field of battle, to open committee-rooms, and to arrange a series of meetings.

The first of these was held on Tuesday evening in the Princess Hall, Christian Street. Although the meeting had been worked up in the space of a few hours, a large crowd outside the doors and stretching down the road testified to the interest which the people of St. George's-in-the-East took in "them Suffragettes." Inside the hall itself was a large gathering of men and women, evidently come to hear what the Suffragettes had to say. The familiar purple, white and green flags were hung on the walls, and a prominent feature was the new Forcible Feeding poster. The chair was taken by Miss Stevenson, who in a few words explained the women's demand and outlined the policy of the Union before calling upon Mrs. Pankhurst.

Mrs. Pankhurst, in a powerful and impressive speech, explained to those present what women are asking for, and why they have been driven to ask for it in the particular way they have chosen. She pointed out to her audience, very many of whom were of foreign extraction, that whereas they could obtain full citizen rights by merely living in the constituency a few years, and by paying naturalisation fees, no length of residence in a country, and no payment of fees, could ever enfranchise the women of the country. She reminded them of the struggles going on in their own countries for political liberties, and appealed to them to support the women who are to-day struggling to be free.

She told her audience that on one condition and on one condition alone would they leave Mr. Benn unopposed, and she asked the electors in her audience to carry her offer to the Liberal candidate: If he would go to Mr. Asquith and obtain from him a definite pledge to remove the disability of sex, the Suffragettes would on their part retire from St. George's-in-the-East.

Then Mrs. Pankhurst turned to the economic side of the question, and it was evident that her audience were deeply impressed.

At the close of Mrs. Pankhurst's speech several questions were asked by men and women in the audience dealing with various points raised during the course of her speech. She was listened to most attentively, and a man who tried to interrupt during her speech was stopped by another with the remark:—"Ere, stop yer jaw; we can 'ear yer rot any day in the week. This lidy's a treat, she is; she talks sense—wot we don't 'ear often from a platform."

Need for Further Help.

Many volunteers have already come forward to take part in the battle, but so hurried is the contest, and so soon (next Tuesday) is the polling day upon us, that more are needed, and all women who care for the honour of their sex at this most vivid moment in the history of the fight for the vote are asked not to let the opportunity pass, but to go down to 296, Cable Street, and take part in canvassing, speaking at street meetings, distributing literature, selling *Votes for Women*, and helping in other ways in which their energies and energies

abilities may be required. Let no one say, "There are plenty of workers; I need not go." There is need for each individual woman who has time to spare, and if she has no leisure—well, Suffragettes know how to make that very necessary commodity!

Another pressing need is the loan of motor-cars or carriages, or subscriptions to enable the workers to hire them. In view of the fact that the district is a very poor one, and cannot be expected to raise funds locally, it is suggested that those who cannot give time or lend conveyances may like to send donations towards the By-election Campaign Fund.

The W.S.P.U. Committee-rooms (in charge of Miss Dallas) are at 296, Cable Street, which can be reached by any omnibus going up Commercial Road. Cable Street runs parallel with Commercial Road, from which it is only a few minutes' walk. In addition to the special meetings announced below, a large number of outdoor meetings have been arranged, and canvassing among the women is being actively carried out.

The W.S.P.U. Band will take an active part in the campaign.

The Men's Political Union are giving splendid help, and are carrying on an active anti-Government campaign. Men anxious to join forces with those already in the field are invited to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Victor D. Duval, at the offices, 13,

A FRAGMENT.

(During the recent gale the following, evidently a fragment, was blown in at the editorial window of the W.S.P.U. offices.)

The wise maiden, the wiser maiden, and the wisest maiden, who was the youngest of all, sat in their dismantled fortress, and the joyousness of their faces was dimmed by sad knowledge. They asked each other the hardest of all questions, "Why?" Outside a goblin demon in human guise laughed and mocked, "Why not?" In the heart of a fog, amid looming black shapes of houses in which darkened lives rarely if ever found the sun, this fortress stood. And it was magically different from these, though much the same to the eye of the chance wayfarer. For one thing it flew a gay flag in purple, white and green. In it, too, were strong hearts and high hopes, and it had strong doors and new bolts. The bolts had been put there by a Knight belonging to a League of Men to Help all Women in Dire Need. But alas for the plight of women!

The night had been very dark, and darker still the heart of man who came, a thief in that night, to steal the treasure in the fog-bound fortress. In the Mancunian blackness he came, when the lights were no longer burning; and when the sun awoke, and the maidens began again their day's spinning of the fine threads which were to make beautiful new garments for their tired and toilworn sisters, there was no treasure of gold with which to go on spinning.

"Oh, if you see it," said the wise one, who was near-sighted and trustful, "I will dance with the throng." And she proceeded to put on rose-coloured spectacles at once.

"Let the guests bring gifts," said the wiser one, who had great gifts of calculation, and knew by heart the science of mathematics. "They will I see them already with my mind's eye," said the wise one with the big eyes. "Because of the gifts we have given, and because of the gifts we shall give, they will bring gold, and flowers, and magic carpets, and magic lamps like splendid moons, under which we will dance to the music made by the minstrels they bring." "And I," continued the maiden who was even wiser than this, "I will count out the gold to send to the General of the big army which is to win the world for the great Queen." "The great task," mused the wise one, "to win the world, when Mammon and others' Demons shall be defeated and slain. The great Queen Woman, extolled by poets and artists, still lives an inglorious life. When in the near future the victory

"How you wander on!" broke in the wisest of all the maidens. "What you ought to do is to think of nearer future. Invite all the people who live in palaces. They will come flocking or send ambassadors with greetings and gifts. So will the thieves be forgotten, and we will live happy ever after." "Be calm," said the wiser one. "Here is the ink. To all whom it may concern—that is the only wording." "Yes, since it's for everybody."

She went on writing.

The wise one trimmed the lamp.

[Can our readers throw any light upon this article? It has been suggested that it refers to the burglary at the Manchester W.S.P.U. office, and the Dance on March 11.—Editors VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

THE ADULT SUFFRAGISTS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—Allow me to correct an erroneous impression to which your comment on the resolution moved at the Labour Party Conference is likely to give rise. This resolution was moved as an amplification of the omnibus resolution on electoral reform which demanded in addition to the enfranchisement of all adults, male and female, a shortening of the period of qualification, payment of returning officers' expenses and members of Parliament, all elections on the same day, as well as other reforms. It was felt that these demands might come before the House separately, and that the words "to the whole Bill" would bind the Labour Party to reject clauses of the resolution which did not relate to adult suffrage. Hence the deletion of the words "to the whole Bill." It still remains that the Labour Party have demanded the inclusion of women in the Reform Bill, and "declares that any attempt to exclude women will be met by the uncompromising opposition of organised Labour."

Yours, etc.,

MARGARET G. BONDFIELD.
People's Suffrage Federation, League House,
34, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.,

February 19, 1910.

[Three alternatives exist for the Labour Party in the face of an Electoral Reform Bill which does not enfranchise women. First, to acquiesce in their exclusion. Second, to demand their inclusion, but to be prepared to support the Bill in any case. Third, to refuse to support the Bill unless Woman Suffrage is included. The third course was that originally proposed in the resolution, the second was that adopted. No course except the third is of any real value to women, because if nominal friends of Woman Suffrage declare beforehand their intention of voting for the Bill even if Woman Suffrage be omitted, the method of least resistance of the supporters of the Bill is to secure the adherence of enemies of Woman Suffrage by its omission.—Editors VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

THE SCOTTISH EXHIBITION.

Exhibition Offices for Glasgow: 141, Bath Street, Glasgow.
Glasgow Secretary: Miss Frances McPherson, 151, Bath Street.

Edinburgh Secretary: Miss Godden, 8, Melville Place, Queen'sferry Street.

Scottish women are hard at work preparing for the Exhibition and Sale of Work to be held in the Charing Cross Halls, Glasgow, on April 26, 27, and 28. Here are some practical points:

The Glasgow Work Party meets at the old W.S.P.U. office, 141, Bath Street, on Mondays and Wednesdays at 3 and 8 p.m. Members in Glasgow and neighbourhood are urged to join or to rend contributions of money or material.

In Edinburgh work parties are held three times a week—for details see Edinburgh p. 343.

Mrs. Gillies, Edington Mills, Chirnside, Berwickshire, will be pleased to have promises of goods for the produce stall; delivery to be made to Glasgow and Edinburgh April 25.



DAME ASQ.—TH: Alas! my poor majority!

(A cartoon drawn by Miss Mary Howey).

Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. The methods are similar to those of the W.S.P.U., viz., opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as Women's Franchise is granted, and participation in Parliamentary elections in opposition to the Government candidates and independently of all other candidates.

Meetings Arranged.

Saturday, 24th.—Stepney Town Hall, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 3 p.m.
Monday, 26th.—Princess Hall, Christian Street, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 3 p.m.

DEVON (BARNSTAPLE).

Candidate.—H. J. Scores (L.).
The figures at the General Election, 1910, were:—H. J. Scores (L.), 6,236; G. Borwick (C.), 5,256; Lib. Maj. 352.

It is now very improbable that there will be a contest in the Barnstaple division, but if a Unionist candidate be forthcoming, the W.S.P.U. are ready to take the field immediately with an anti-Government policy.

Owing to the enormous Liberal majorities in the Ilkley division of Derbyshire and at Rotherham, it is improbable that Colonel Seely and Mr. J. A. Pease will be opposed in these two constituencies.

It is stated that no contest is likely to take place when Sir Edward Brynmor Jones seeks re-election on his appointment as Recorder of Merton.

"Our lamps were not lit," said the wise one, tears of sorrow in her voice. Said the wiser one, "It is a mistake to sleep all at once. We must be vigilant like the prayerful saints. The daring enemy will come again unless one of us is always awake." They went on working, sighing the while lest they need tell the Queen of a robber cleverer than wise maidens. How should they hasten to pile up treasure again for the Queen's fighting army in the great Crusade? "Work," said the wise one. "Of course," murmured the wiser maiden wearily, as if to say, "Why waste time in talking?" "Oh, let us play for a change," said the wisest maiden. They looked up in wonder, for they rarely played; at most they only laughed happily. "The way under misfortune," went on the youngest, wisest one, "is to dance, and to go on dancing. This disconcerts the Demon who goes heavily always. We must put on swift shoes that dance, and dance till the Demon is defeated. The world will join in for the asking. We will be merry and gracious, and the guests will be merry and happy and grateful, for now they are dumb and stand aside, only waiting to be called by our music. We must take pleasure by the hand, and dance straight to the Kingdom of all Treasures. It is the quickest way, once you know the path."

A PRISON DRAMA.

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

Every seat in the theatre was filled. In the stalls, in the dress circle, in the gallery, I saw women whom I recognised as Suffragists. Here and there was a face bright with intelligence and interest that I had seen under a prison cap. In the box beside me was a woman who, like myself, had worn the convict's dress branded with the broad arrow. This remembrance was recalled as I glanced at my play-bill. For there, included in the cast, were the names of "the prison governor," "the chaplain," "the doctor." And as I looked again I saw that the prison, exercise yard, corridor, and cell were to be depicted upon the stage. What vivid remembrance, what visions, were suddenly brought to my mind!

Then the lights went out, the curtain was drawn up, and every sense and faculty became absorbed in Mr. Galsworthy's great tragedy "Justice," which opened the session at the Repertory Theatre last Monday.

It is a wonderful play, great and terrible as human life itself. It is throbingly, staggeringly real. From beginning to end there is not a false note sounded; not a disillusioning word or action to bring us back to the consciousness that after all we are but sitting in a theatre, spectators and critics of a dramatic situation, not participants in a clumsy, stupid, and monstrous conspiracy for destroying the living soul in a fellow human-being.

The story is simple enough. A young city clerk, physically undeveloped, gentle and sensitive and neurotic, is driven nigh to madness by witnessing the evidences of gross cruelty practised upon the helpless girl he loves by a brutal husband whose property she is. At the very moment of despair, circumstances conspire to suggest a sudden solution to the problem that seemed insoluble. In a moment of irresponsibility he alters the figures upon a cheque; for it has flashed through his mind that if he can get the money both may escape and start life together in a new country.

The second act is the trial. It is amazingly well carried out, and one never loses sense of the drama that is being enacted behind the drama. It is not the prisoner at the bar only who is judged in that judgment.

The third act is a succession of prison scenes. We see the dejected march of the convicts round the exercise yard, we see the galleries of the interior, with their rows of locked doors. The doors are opened one by one, and the cowering of the desperate inmate is revealed to sight. It is all absolutely circumstantial; poignantly true to fact. At last the scene is the cell itself, in all its narrowness and nakedness, and within it we see the lad, restless like a caged animal.

Evening has set in. The long night of hideous tension has to be faced. There is a creeping horror in the prison silence, broken by the hateful excitement of the prison noises. The horror and the excitement grow and take possession of the pent-up body and mind. The prisoner listens, starts, listens again, presses his forehead against the cold wall, listens, walks, and listens again. From away down the corridor comes an echoing sound—thud, thud, thud. One of the convicts has lost self-control and is banging upon the door of his cell. Another follows suit, then another, and yet another. The sound comes nearer, louder. The young man hesitates, makes one futile effort at self-poise, then flings himself upon his door and batters wildly upon it in frantic terror and despair. Upon this scene the curtain, the merciful curtain, falls.

It is a terrible piece of realism. It is magnificently acted by Mr. Dennis Eadie. It is a something that haunts remembrance and imagination.

The rest of the story may be imagined. It is worked out with inexorable fidelity to logic and fact. The convict comes out a cringing, broken, nerve-shattered creature, spurned by his fellows, shadowed by the police. Fate pursues him; he cannot get work and he forges a reference. At last a faint hope dawns. His employer offers to give him another chance. But the detective is once more on his track. He is re-arrested. He escapes the grinding arm of the law by jumping from a window into the arms of death.

Thus are the weak and neurotic and the hard-pressed manufactured into criminals, lunatics, wastrels, and suicides—in the name of "Justice."

The point of view given to the author of this play by his imagination and presented to his audience by his wonderful grasp and manipulation of the technique of drama is the same point of view that has been gained by hundreds of public-spirited women by actual experience.

During the past four years women called "Suffragettes" have for the sake of justice sounded by endurance all the depths of prison stupidity, have tested all the resources which prison discipline holds in reserve for breaking the human spirit. And they have gained an amazing insight into the futility and folly and injurious waste of the whole prison system.

Again and again, with the results under their eyes, they have asked themselves how it ever entered the minds of men to conceive such a machinery for dealing with live souls and bodies.

For law-courts, police-courts, and prisons are essentially man-made. They are the very essence and expression of undiluted masculinity. It is in this department more than in any other that women could have helped men. This is essentially the nursery and sick-room department of life, and women could have supplied the wisdom that they have gathered by their age-long experience in dealing with the physically and mentally undeveloped, and with the physically and mentally enfeebled.

The words of Mr. John Masefield, when speaking at the Queen's Hall some days ago, come to my mind:

Man is not concerned with life at all. Only with the affairs of life. Woman on the other hand is occupied with life until she dies. Largely with the creation of life; still more largely with the conduct of life. As far as the world's conduct has any tone at all, she is responsible for it.

Men can build their engines alone. Alone they can invent machinery and turn out goods to a standard pattern.

But when it becomes a matter of dealing with human bodies and human hearts, then, lest they meet with disaster and confusion, let men call in the mother wit, the practical common sense, the essential co-operation of women.

BATS AT LOUTH.

"It appeared that a Suffragist had hidden herself in the false roof of the building. . . . 'I see,' said the Chancellor, 'some bats have got in. Let them squeal: it does not matter.' "—*Daily News*, January 17, 1910.

Did you think when you mocked the women, L. G.,
Of Hatto, Bishop of old,
Whom the mice destroyed, by Heaven employed
Heaven's justice to uphold?
He had burned the peasants who seized his corn,
Denied to a just appeal;
And their tortured cries he had laughed to scorn—
"Hark! how the poor mice squeal!"

His methods were rougher than yours, L. G.,
For he lived in a barbarous day;
But oppression lives, nor Heaven forgives,
Though the world be old and grey:
Still over Damocles hangs the sword,
And wrath is the meed of crime,
And the ruthless deed and the reckless word
Come home to roost in time.

Did I hate you more than I hate, L. G.,
Did my power of pen suffice,
A tale I would tell of a foe more fell
Than the Bishop's demon mice:
A tale of the dark, and a rodent thing,
Swarming, swooping for prey—
Closelier, deadlier—claw and wing . . .
You can hear them squeal, you say?

Enough: for I hate you not, L. G.,
Who in truth would lift you higher,
Nor doom invoke for the word you spoke
But the doom of the coals of fire.
A new success for your arms I pray,
A conquest still to achieve—
Grace of the soul that has strength to say,
"I sinned . . . ah! friends, forgive!"

A SUFFRAGIST LIBERAL.

W.S.P.U. MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

Women of all shades of political opinion who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:

"I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote."

There is an entrance fee of 1s. No definite subscription is fixed, as it is known that all members will give to the full extent of their ability to further the campaign funds of the Union.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Indian Review." January. Madras: G. A. Nathan and Co. 10s. per annum.

"Letters from George Eliot to Elma Stuart." By Roland Stuart. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Co. 5s. net.

"How to Become a Private Secretary." By Arthur Shepherd. London: Fisher, Unwin. 6d. net.

"A Quiz Book of Nursing." By Amy E. and Thirza A. Pope. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 6s. net.

"School Hygiene." February. School Hygiene Publishing Co. 6d. net.

SELLING THE PAPER.

The lady selling *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in the street has become a regular feature in London life; she has even been honoured by *Punch*, which, in its issue of February 16, published a clever illustration showing "Miss A. of Park Lane," among the hawkers offering a copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* to a kind old gentleman, who gives her a penny and says, "Keep the paper, my good woman!"

No one need hesitate from diffidence to offer her services and thus help to relieve those who stand for so many hours a day in all weathers doing this very valuable form of propaganda work. All those who have taken the plunge speak with pleasure of their experience.

The new pitch near Victoria Station, for instance, is the centre of a great variety of life; the big railways bring in from Greater London thousands of business folk, and the sightseers look upon the Suffragette street-sellers outside the station as being quite one of the London objects of interest.

The Interest of the Work.

Many of the flower-girls and pavement vendors also take a keen interest in the seller (locally honoured by the title of "Mrs. Pankhurst"), and frequently remark when passing, "I hope you'll sell out, my dear," and inquire sympathetically as to the "luck of the day," speaking out of vast experience as to the effect of the weather on the number of likely purchasers. Amongst the small boys Thursdays and Fridays cause great excitement, when one observant youth discovers the new cartoon and calls upon his fellows to study and admire. Here the seller has often to come to the rescue of puzzled future electors and bring home the lessons of an "il-Liberal Government" and the political position of "Humpty Dumpty," apropos of whom one sympathiser recently remarked that "poor Humpty-Dumpty had more head than he deserved, even in his elevated position."

Cheerful remarks, such as "Stick firm; you'll get the vote soon," and the earnest "Hope you'll sell thousands and thousands," make the hours pass quite rapidly, and more than compensate for some scornful looks.

At Victoria there are a great number of foreigners, and they show interest in the movement, often asking for a paper "to see what Englishwomen are doing," and their absolute astonishment that "your men could have been so impolite to their women" shows how our once honoured British prestige for justice and chivalry has been degraded by those who have power.

Another seller writes:—"I simply love selling papers. After the first two or three times all nervousness vanished."

The sales of the papers at the Piccadilly pitch continue briskly, and, in spite of the cold and rain, the sellers remain unflinchingly at their posts, compelling the admiration of the passers-by and selling many papers. Piccadilly is a very good pitch, particularly so in the early morning, when the men are going to their business, and in the afternoons, when the ladies are shopping and going to and from the theatres. Helpers are urgently needed.

The Bank pitch is proving a great success. On Thursday over five dozen papers were sold in less than three hours, and many more could be sold if only volunteers would come forward to sell regularly one or two hours a week. It is extremely interesting to notice the various expressions on the faces of the passers-by, and so many people—even small boys and girls—come to ask questions that sellers have no time to feel tired, and an hour passes very rapidly.

A variety of interesting incidents mark the hours, and for the widening of one's sympathies and lessening of one's personal grievances let us confidently recommend a few hours per week of paper-selling.

THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN.

They come with a solemn music, gathered from every part, Daughters and wives of those who have sounded the challenge afar
Against all ranks of oppressors; these of one voice, one heart Afblame with the fire of pity, are girt for the holy war.

No man can stay or stop them. A sisterhood is afield. The tears of women have fallen which the hands of women shall dry.

No man can bribe or baulk them: no man can make them yield,
For the sob of slaves assembled these forces marching by.

Rank upon rank advancing, with banner proudly displayed. Their eyes are bright for battle, and their eager hearts are set
Because of a regiment broken, accursed and afraid,
Which listens for voices of hope—and is waiting and waiting yet.

Before them the roll of a drum: and with them ever there beats
The heart of the mightiest People that toils for right in the earth
To-day, the turmoil and clang in the dust of the London streets,
But to-morrow, in England, a grander and nobler age shall have birth.

Miss Goldring.

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

At the Society of Women Artists.

By G. Vaughan.

In the old days, before the New Spirit leavened everything as it is doing to-day, it was possible to go to a picture gallery and choose one's likes and dislikes according to one's idiosyncrasies—portrait, landscape, sea scene, or whatever it might be. But the New Spirit has come, and it permeates one's life and refuses to be left outside any part of one's experiences. Thus it happened that the other day, having half-an-hour to wait for a train, I went into the National Gallery—a familiar haunt in former years—and the New Spirit went with me. "Look," it said, brushing aside my hopes of a few soothing moments with my favourite Masters, "there is a young man not looking at the pictures at all; he is reading *Votes for Women*." Even here!

And, of course, when I went to the fifty-fifth exhibition of the Society of Women Artists in Suffolk Street, the New Spirit went too. And something of the following conversation took place:

I: "Now do let me enjoy the pictures; 'A Corner of the Fruit Market, Rialto, Venice': we will begin with that—No. 14."

The N. S. (whisking me away to No. 11): "No, we will begin with 'Reflections'—an early Victorian lady gazing into a mirror. She is thinking, 'Will he like the way I have done my hair?' Women of to-day are different. . . ."

I: "Don't moralise. Just enjoy this gorgeous field of poppies, with cloud shadows over them, and that wet sky. . . . See how deliciously broad the treatment is! . . ."

The N. S.: "What a sweet face! What a depth of feeling in the eyes, and what set purpose in the mouth! . . . What does the catalogue say? No. 73, 'A Petitioner.' Ah! She might be presenting a . . . to . . ."

I (hurriedly): "'Necaxa, Mexico,' No. 79. It must be glorious to live among such colours and sunshine as that! Or this brown study, No. 263, 'First to Arrive,' a fishing boat coming into the harbour—brown sails, brown hull, brown sea. . . ."

The N. S. (peremptorily): "Come here! Sit at this corner, and you will see what women are thinking about women."

I obeyed. No. 299 was called "The Mermaid" (Mrs. J. F. Brenan). Neither woman nor fish, with child's face and scaly tail—a pretty toy. Next hung a canvas called "Worship" (M. E. Kindon). On the lap of a sweet-faced young mother lay a curly-headed baby boy—the worshipped; the mother, the old grandmother, the two little sisters were the worshippers. The attitude of one little sister—her face in shadow, her back to the sunlit country lane beyond the cottage door—suggested a touch of rebelliousness, finger in mouth.

The N. S.: "And the boy will grow up selfish because the women of the family have always spoilt him."

I: "Perhaps it is a baby girl."

The N. S. did not answer. I did not really think it was a girl.

The other pictures to which the New Spirit drew my attention hung side by side, and I looked at them a long time. In the smaller of the two was an old, old woman in a high mob cap and coarse apron. She bent over an iron stove, from behind the opened door of which glowed a small fire. On the stove was an earthenware pot. The attitude of the woman expressed patience and—nothing more. Just the daily toil, the small, commonplace task of keeping the fire alight. The picture was called "The Fire Mender," and it was by Kate Allen.

"That," said the New Spirit, "is how thousands—millions of women spend their lives. She has toiled at mending the fire for three score years and ten, and now she is alone, and her one consolation is that teapot. Look at the picture next to it."

It was another study in brown, and by the painter of "First to Arrive," Lily Defries. A girl sat at the corner of a rough table; behind her the wind through the open window blew the curtain across the window sill, on which stood a dull red flower-pot. She wore a coarse working dress, blue apron, and linen cap such as the Breton peasant women wear, and a book with dull red edges lay open on the table. It was a strong, brave study in low tones, the girl's figure in shadow, the light coming from the window behind her. But the interest of the picture was the girl's face. It was very young, a little puzzled, a little dreamy, and wholly unawakened. The picture was called "The Lesson," and because the New Spirit was with me I sat and looked at it a long time. The mermaid, the worshipping group, and the old fire-mender faded away, and I saw only this girl with the unawakened spirit looking out from the dreamy eyes.

I do not know how it happened—it must have been because the New Spirit was there—but while I looked the girl's expression seemed to change; a light came into the eyes and a strength and resolution into the mouth. It was as if she began to see the meaning of the lesson. And—but this can only have been an optical illusion, due to the presence of the New Spirit—the white Breton cap became a prison cap and the dress was marked with the broad arrow.

I: "You have spoilt my pleasure in the pictures."

The N. S.: "She will awake and will learn the lesson that women all over the world are learning. The hope of the future lies in her and others like her; and they are waking—and learning."

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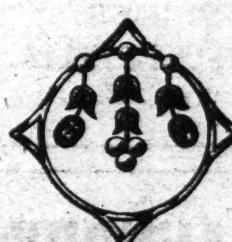
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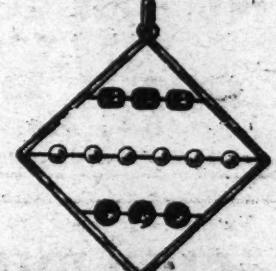
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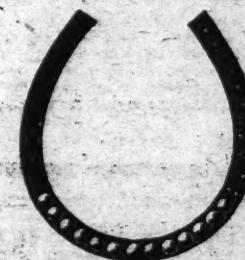
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The Women's Social and Political Union are NOT asking for a vote for every woman, but simply that sex shall cease to be a disqualification for the franchise.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise, possess the Parliamentary vote. The Woman's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded about a million and a quarter women will possess the vote in addition to the seven and a half million men who are at present enfranchised.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed immediately.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1910.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

Retribution has indeed come upon the Government, who in the heyday of their power misused that power to repress the demand of women for constitutional liberty. The first days of the new Parliament have brought to them nothing but disgrace and discredit. Not only have they offended and disappointed the Labour party and the Nationalists, whose alliance they seek, but they have filled the minds of their own followers in the House of Commons with mistrust. It is difficult, indeed, to see how they can possibly rid themselves of the reputation for bad faith and cowardice which they have earned. All this comes as no surprise to the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. On the contrary, we should have been astounded had the Government behaved in any other way. Our four years' experience of the Liberal Government and their methods has convinced us of their unworthiness. Liberals and others are astonished by Mr. Asquith's new interpretation of his Albert Hall pledge on the subject of safeguards, but we, to whom Mr. Asquith has offered a sham pledge relating to a Reform Bill, have to say of his disingenuous behaviour in regard to the matter of "safeguards" that it is precisely what we should have expected. For four years and more, we have warned Liberals that a Prime Minister who refuses, by opposing women's enfranchisement, to give effect to the fundamental principle of Liberalism cannot be trusted to vindicate any other Liberal principle. In his dealing with the question of Votes for Women Mr. Asquith has shown neither consistency, honesty, nor regard for justice; it was inevitable that sooner or later he would similarly fail in regard to some other cause of immediate interest to man.

It was the King's Speech which first gave alarm to the followers and the allies of the Government, for this foreshadowed, not simply the limitation of the Veto of the House of Lords, but also the reconstruction of that House. As the opponents of the Lords believe that the question of the Veto ought to be dealt with apart from, and in priority to, that of reforming the House of Lords, the prospect of having what they regard as the main issue thus complicated they utterly disapprove. But the cardinal fault of the Government's programme, as disclosed by the King's Speech, these critics have overlooked. It is that while the King's Speech promises an attempt to adjust the relationship between the two Houses of Parliament and to alter the constitution of the Upper House, it promises no reform of the House of

Commons. That is to say, the Government intend that the House of Commons, for which they claim supremacy, is to remain, as at present, totally unrepresentative of the women taxpayers of the country.

Mr. Asquith's announcement that in dealing with the House of Lords the Government will proceed in the first instance by resolution instead of by Bill, and that last Session's Budget would not be used as a lever for getting the House of Lords to adopt the Veto proposals, caused the gravest dissatisfaction. The new interpretation which he placed on his own Albert Hall pledge shocked and startled every section of the forces on whose support he relies. For, after having allowed his followers to say, and the electors to believe, that he undertook to secure guarantees from the Crown that the will of the House of Commons as embodied in a Veto Bill should have legislative effect, Mr. Asquith, now that the General Election is over, repudiates this construction of his pledge. Mr. Redmond, who is more guileless by far than the Suffragettes, informed the House of Commons that during the General Election he placed implicit faith in the Government's intention to seek guarantees from the Crown as to the use of the Royal prerogative, and expressed strong indignation at having been thus duped by the Prime Minister. He pointed out to Mr. Asquith that the words which he used at the Albert Hall would not bear the interpretation which he now sought to place upon them. He further showed the House that another member of the Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George, had also misled the country, by saying that he "would not remain a member of a Liberal Cabinet for one hour without the knowledge that that Cabinet had determined not to hold office after the General Election unless full powers were accorded to it, which would enable them to place upon the Statute-book of the realm a measure to ensure the limitation of the Veto." Indeed, the threatening tone of Mr. Redmond's speech made it seem that immediate disaster must befall the Government. The Chairman of the Labour Party, though his speech was more moderate, also expressed dissatisfaction with Mr. Asquith's plan of campaign.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the debate was the antagonism to the Government shown by the Liberal rank and file. Party discipline is strong, and after a protest the Private Member is apt to subside into obedience to his leaders, but nevertheless, an unusual spirit of independence has manifested itself among Mr. Asquith's followers. Even Mr. Winston Churchill, who knows so well how to beguile those of advanced political views, failed to appease the anger of these discontented Liberal Members. Mr. Pickersgill, who called upon the Government at once to introduce the Veto Bill, said there had been enough of resolutions, and expressed the hope that the House of Commons would not be subjected to the humiliation of going all through the details of that Bill without any assurance whatever that at the end of those months their labour would not have been in vain. Mr. Wedgwood, another Liberal, attacked the Prime Minister, saying that however much rank and file Liberals might have been mistaken in attributing to his Albert Hall pledge a meaning which he now repudiated, the Prime Minister himself was still more mistaken in not deceiving them and the country. "It was not," said Mr. Wedgwood, "fair dealing with his followers to allow them to make statements which might get them votes, but which put them wrong with the people who sent them to that House. The whole situation," he continued, "had been upset and revolutionised by the speech of yesterday. The only right and perfectly honourable way out was the resignation of the Government and their refusal again to accept office without the guarantees which were essential to the success of Liberal policy." Sir Albert Spicer declared that he could not go back to his constituents and face them honestly and boldly if the policy enunciated by the Government were to be pursued. Yet another Liberal, Mr. Hemmerde, condemned the Government's policy, and declared that he believed the tactics all along had been wrong, and that the House of Lords ought not to have been permitted the power of forcing a General Election. "The rank and file of the party," he said, "should let the Government know that they exist upon the support of their followers in the House of Commons."

These signs of revolt on the part, not only of the Nationalist and Labour members, but on the part also of Liberal members themselves, combined with the fact that the Government have shown neither the courage nor the inclination to take a strong line in dealing with the Lords, show how strained is the political situation. From the moment the General Election result was declared, it was evident that the life of the Government hung upon a thread, and Mr. Churchill has divulged the fact that the Government seriously considered whether they should not resign office. As events are turning out, the Government's position is one of even greater weakness than was expected. The importance of this from our point of view is that it enables the Women's Social and Political Union to strike at the Government with greater effect than ever before. We rejoice in the occurrence of a contested election in St. George's-in-the-East, and we hope that we may be able, by securing the defeat of the Government nominee, Mr. Benn, still further to weaken the Government who have met with such bitter opposition the claim for the political enfranchisement of women.

Christabel Pankhurst.

MILESTONES IN THE MOVEMENT.

By H. N. Brailsford.

[A Speech Delivered at the Queen's Hall, February 21, 1910.]

You meet to-day on a momentous occasion. The first hours of every session have served in the short history of your movement as its milestones. As each year came round you reckoned up your progress; you looked forward to the milestones that lay still before you on your dusty road. To-day you recollect some of those annual occasions when you made history. You are not going to add to your catalogue of deeds to-day. You have achieved enough by the bravery of your movement to be able to suspend for a while its militant tactics in order that you may gauge their effect and give those who oppose you the opportunity of making their concession without loss of dignity and without the sense of yielding to pressure.

But it is good, none the less, to review the road you have passed, and the perspective that lies before you. I found among my papers this morning an article which seemed to me, as I read it over, a significant historical document; the thing was so obsolete, so antiquated, so foolish that I could hardly believe that it was written only six years ago. It was written by myself. It was an article on the prospects of Woman's Suffrage, composed for a Liberal review before your movement existed. We had none of us heard in those days of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, or imagined the gallantry of her first act of militancy at Manchester. I remember very well the circumstances in which this article was written. The staff of this review was sharply divided on your question. But it was not yet practical politics, and I was graciously allowed to say what I pleased. Well, I said what I pleased, as honestly as I could; and, if you will excuse me the egoism of the illustration, I will tell you what I found in my out-of-date document. I reviewed there the arguments for Woman's Suffrage very much as you review them every day at your meetings; very much as John Stuart Mill stated them forty years ago. When I came to consider the consequences of this reform I summed them up somewhat in this way: The moral consequences, the educational consequences, I said, would be enormous. It would mean to every growing girl a new outlook on life; it would mean the lifting of the incubus that now prevents the full expansion of her powers; she would enter on her life a free citizen, without that stigma of inferiority which is hers to-day. It would mean also for the growing boy a lesson in tolerance, a lesson in respect for those who were physically weaker than himself. But, I said, enormous as these moral and educational consequences are, the political consequences will be negligible. Women, after all, can have no point of view that is specifically their own. They are human beings with the point of view of other human beings, with the same interests and the same temperaments, and when they receive the Vote they will automatically sort themselves out into Liberal and Conservative and Socialist, and take their place in the general march of progress.

A New Spirit in Politics.

No one of us would write that sort of nonsense to-day—not even I would write it. We all understand to-day that the giving of the vote to women means an enormous transformation in our politics. It will involve, of course, those moral and educational consequences, which some of us could forecast, even before your propaganda started. But your militant movement has taught us that it means much more than that. It means that the concession of the vote will be the first stage in a great battle for the winning of an equal legal status, an equal economic position. It means the brushing aside of an entire tradition of subjection. Most of us supposed, before your militant movement started, that women's politics were going to be in the future the old, sleepy, rather parasitic, rather dependent thing which they were in the past. We thought that women were going to attach themselves very timidly, very diffidently, to men's political parties. They would continue to range themselves in our Gladstone Leagues and our Primrose Leagues. From time to time, perhaps, the wife of a candidate, or the mother of a member—herself, may be, an anti-Suffragist—would issue a pamphlet, or appear upon our political platform, and there state her opinions from the point of view, not of herself, but of her husband, the candidate, or her son, the member. The real reason, ladies and gentlemen, for the opposition to your movement—the fundamental reason it seems to me, as far as there is a political reason—is that male politicians have begun to understand that yours is an insurgent movement. It means the breaking of a great disturbance upon the normal course of our political life. You will come into it free from the discipline which men have put upon themselves as a garment; you will profess none of our creeds of compromise; you will wear none of our time-stained uniforms; you will fight your way into our politics aglow with all the bravery and the spirit of this great struggle of yours; you will bring with you your own vision, and some of you will have seen the world from a new angle—you have seen it through the bars of a prison cell.

Of all the justifications for militant action, it seems to me that the chief is this: that it will make the vote for you, when you get it,

a great and precious possession. A thing, after all, is worth what it has cost; and it has cost you this great chapter of sacrifice and devotion. If women had won it in their sleep, if it had come to them lightly, or in answer to some purely theoretic argument, then I think that for a generation at least they might have exercised it in their sleep. But after the passionate struggle that you have had you will not readily lapse into the easy conventions of our daily politics. Your vote will have cost a price. It will mean for you what tolerance meant to mankind after the wars of religion. It will mean for you what constitutional liberty meant to our fathers after our civil war; it will mean what the vote meant for men after the Chartist agitation. In winning the vote, you will have won very much more than the vote, and you will have won it for a class larger than women, and for an area of influence wider than the British Isles. The indirect gains of this struggle seem to me infinitely more precious even than the vote itself. It will mean for all of you that you have vindicated your claim to respect; vindicated to your own minds your claim to self-respect, and, at the same time, to the esteem of others. You will have gained the regard of your opponents, and in the process you will have done a very necessary thing—you will have smashed once for all the mid-Victorian ideal of womanhood. You know those two lines of Clough's:—

"Women are weak, as you say, and love, of all things, to be passive."

Passive, patient, receptive; yes, even of wrong and misdoing."

There is the mid-Victorian ideal in its perfection—passive, receptive, and patient, above all, of misdoing. (A Voice: "Not now!") No, not now. Every woman who has gone into the streets to sell your paper—every woman who has taken her place in your processions—above all, every woman who has faced prison and the torture which a Liberal Government inflicts upon its opponents in its gaols, has taken her part in the breaking down of that mid-Victorian ideal and in making a cleaner and less artificial world for those who are to come after her. And the service she has rendered is a service not to her sex alone—it is a service to men as well. For if there is anything worse, anything more demoralising than to be patient of wrong-doing, it is that those who are tempted to wrong-doing should reckon on meeting with patience and passivity. You have reached in this great struggle a conception of courage that had been half forgotten during the lazy years of our recent political development. It was no surprise to me to learn that women were capable of at least the same courage and devotion as men have shown in their struggles for liberty. Some of the best and the most inspiring friendships that I have known have been among Russians who have struggled together—men and women—for their liberty. They reached in that struggle that sense of equality, that respect for each other's fortitude, which showed itself, when Finland won her liberties, in the concession of Woman Suffrage. We in our country are now coming to learn from our own sisters that same respect, and to base it on the same regard for courage—courage which is of all virtues the most fundamental.

A World Movement.

That means more than a gain for our own countrymen. In your battles what you do and what you say is read and studied abroad. I had a letter the other day from a friend of mine, a French professor. He was writing to me on a purely personal matter; I did not know that he had ever troubled to watch your movement; I did not even know that he was aware that I had any regard for it or any connection with it. This is what he said to me: "I want the Suffragettes to win; in the first place, because I believe in the justice of their cause, and because they are fighting for it with a devotion unknown in our Latin countries—the home of scepticism and indolence. The news about this movement," he went on to say, "filled me at first with amazement, which grew later into the keenest sympathy."

What you are doing, then, is not merely that you are giving an example to your sisters here, that you are making history for your children; you are writing a living page that is being read by your contemporaries—men and women alike—in other countries. You are giving to us all what is the most precious thing for every generation; you are giving it the example of devotion, of courage, of the readiness to lay down all that we regard as conventionally most valuable. It is in each generation such examples that save us from stagnation. The best thing in life, after all, is the readiness to lay it down. That will not be lost; it will go on, in its perpetual motion, bearing its fruit as your movement progresses, and it will be remembered years after your movement has reached its climax of success.

The first of the difficulties that you have to face is just this realisation in men's minds that you are a new and insurgent and revolutionary force that will transform our politics. The second difficulty that you have to face is, it seems to me, the divergence upon tactics among those who profess to support you. That, I think, is a tribute to the actuality of your movement. It is only when a reform nears success that

men trouble to hesitate about tactics or to consider them with any nicety. The argument is finished; the end is inevitable; there remains only the choice of means. The chief obstacle that I see now in your path is the determination among Liberals and Socialists who claim to be supporters of your movement to concede its demand only in the form of Adult Suffrage.

I should like to say that personally I should approve of Adult Suffrage as the ultimate goal. The question is only as to the immediate means of proceeding. The policy of the Adultist is, as I understand it, that he will not give the Vote to *any* woman unless he can give it to *all* men; that he will not give the Vote to some women unless he can at the same time give it to all. It is a state of mind which one often encounters among people who think themselves idealists. I have Socialist friends who count it a very trivial thing that school children should be fed or that old people should get their pensions at 70. "These," they say, "are mere palliatives; we value nothing, we consider nothing, until we can get the whole of our revolutionary demand." I have a humanitarian friend who is deeply concerned about the cruelty to animals in the chase. I went once to him to suggest that we should try to do something together to stop the hunting of carted deer. He was very sympathetic, but this was his answer: "I feel just as strongly," he said, "about the hunting of foxes as I do about the hunting of deer, and I am afraid I can support no Bill to stop the hunting of carted deer unless you will broaden it out into a universal Bill to forbid the hunting of foxes." That humanitarian friend of mine comes up into my mind whenever I encounter an Adultist. The Adultist is a democrat who feels so strongly about the special case of poor women that he cares nothing at all for the case of women as such. He will do nothing for the carted deer until he can also rescue the fox. His mind has been moulded by the whole course of our politics in the last generation into a sort of exclusive and conventional sympathy with poverty, and only with poverty. He has learned to think only of the material side of life. He understands all about housing; he understands all about land values and sanitation and workhouses; but the memory of the struggle for freedom that lies behind even the very possibility of such reforms as these has gone from his mind. Liberty has ceased to him to be a great possession; he does not understand why any class should rise up merely against its own subjection. That women as women should demand the removal of the disability that weighs on their sex is to him unintelligible.

The Prime Minister's Ruse.

The strategy that has been laid down for you by the Prime Minister deserves first of all this remark, that it is a strategy invented for you by your declared enemy. Mr. Asquith is, in my opinion, a perfectly honest, a perfectly frank man. He has warned you in advance that he is opposed to your movement, and then, having warned you, he has come forward and recommended a procedure that is certain to defeat it. I see you as an army besieging London. You have chosen your own line of advance. You have attacked where the enemy is weakest; you have kept your forces together. You have won halfway across Westminster Bridge. There is a parley, and the general of the opposing forces comes to you and says, "Ladies, I am prepared to capitulate, but on these conditions. You must march by a long detour; you must abandon your trenches and scale, if you can, the northern heights. And on the way you must split your forces and leave behind you the whole of your Right Wing." That is, in fact, what this procedure of Mr. Asquith's enforces upon you. This condition of his that the Vote shall be given only if it approximates to Adult Suffrage is a claim upon you that you shall surrender, in obtaining that Vote, every Conservative who has ever supported you, that you shall rely purely upon Liberal or Socialist votes; that you shall cast aside the eighty-four Conservative members who are pledged in the present Parliament to support you, and that you shall march on them, with these diminished forces, to a goal which you have no security of reaching. It seems to me that a Government would have had a right to lay down the lines on which your reform should proceed if at the same time it had pledged you its support. If Mr. Asquith had said to you, "Our party as a party will take up your reform, our Whips will tell for you in the House, it will be a Government measure," then he might, with perfect candour and with perfect fairness, have laid down his condition that the reform shall be on the particular lines that suit his party. But he has not done that, he has agreed to leave the thing to what he calls the "free vote of the House," and while he leaves it to the free vote of the House he imposes the condition that one-third of your supporters shall be compelled to vote against you.

The solution must come. If no Government will win for itself the credit of taking it up—the solution must come by consent. I am glad that it should come in that way. It will be good for the future of our social evolution that men who support you should come together, without regard for party politics, and should learn, at least on this ground, to associate and co-operate in support of you. It used to be the tradition of manhood in the past, it used to be the very definition of chivalry, that when we saw women in a time of danger and difficulty, in a crisis of their fortunes, we joined together to support these weaker than ourselves. I hope that in this Parliament—perhaps even in the first session of this Parliament—there will be enough of that sentiment left to win for you the Vote that you demand. But if the struggle is destined to be prolonged there is this consolation for you, that you are learning all the while your own moral strength, your own unity, and that you are gaining from the battle itself a courage and a discipline which will stand you in good stead when the Vote is yours to use.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY.

Evidence of the extraordinary interest among the women of the country and the consequent rapid extension of the organisation of the W.S.P.U. will be found in the following reports. The Woman's Mission is occupying the energies of the workers in various centres, and a number of important meetings in connection with this are being addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst and others.

Home Counties.

BRIGHTON AND DISTRICT.

Office—8, North Street, Quadrant. Telephone 2883 (Ext.). Organiser—Mrs. Clarke.

Members are cordially invited to bring friends to the meetings at Forfar's Restaurant, 72, Western Road. Next Tuesday Miss Helen Ogston will be the speaker (3.30 to 5.30 p.m.), and next Friday, March 4 (7 to 9.30 p.m.), Miss Douglas Smith will speak. The speakers for meetings on March 11 and 13 will be announced later. Special efforts are being made to bring the movement to the notice of mothers' meetings and similar gatherings. Several good meetings have been held on the Front, and *VOTES FOR WOMEN* sells well.

Tuesday, March 1st.—Forfar's Restaurant, Miss Helen Ogston, 3 p.m.

Friday, March 4th.—Forfar's Restaurant, Miss Georgina Brackenbury, 7.30 p.m.

READING.

Organiser—Miss Margesson, 7, Lorne Street. Will all interested in the campaign here communicate with Miss Margesson, as above?

REDHILL.

Hon. Sec. Mrs. Richmond, Fentges House. Great interest continues to be shown in the monthly street meetings, to which valuable help is given by Croydon members. A successful Rummage Sale in aid of local funds has been held. An effective method of advertising is the show-case in Station Road, where the Forcible Feeding poster is now shown. Weekly public meetings are held in the Carlton Room, Station Road.

CANTERBURY AND THANET.

Organiser—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, Newstead, Walmsley Road, Broadstairs.

The organiser found a splendid body of workers awaiting her advent, and great deal of preparatory work for Mrs. Pankhurst's coming tour in East Kent has been accomplished. The Ramsgate Pavilion, which holds nearly 3,000 people, has been booked for the evening of Thursday, April 21, and particulars about the meetings at Margate and Canterbury on the following day will shortly be announced. The chief event in the near future is the W.S.P.U. At Home in the Congregational Hall, Meeting Street, Ramsgate, on Wednesday, March 2, at 3.30 p.m. It is hoped that any members or sympathisers who, through inadvertence, have not received cards of invitation to the latter will accept this intimation that their presence is earnestly requested. The organiser will speak, and will also announce the preparations being made for Mrs. Pankhurst's visit, and heartily invite the co-operation of all those interested in the movement. Miss Stiel has kindly undertaken the post of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* marshal for the centre. Will all those willing to help in selling the weekly paper (one of the most valuable forms of propaganda) give in their names to her at 16, Castle Court Road, Broadstairs? On Wednesday, February 17, the organiser addressed an At Home of the Thanet Women's Suffrage Society, given by its Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Barnett Smith, and received a very friendly and cordial welcome. At the request of the same society, she is to speak at their meeting in the Marina Hall, Ramsgate, on March 4.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Ramsgate Congregational Hall, Meeting Street, At Home, Miss Macaulay, 3.30 p.m.

Thursday, April 21st.—Ramsgate Pavilion, Mrs. Pankhurst, 8 p.m.

RAVLEIGH.

Hon. Sec. Mrs. Warren, B.A., The White Cottage.

Mr. and Mrs. Warren, of the White Cottage, are arranging weekly meetings on Tuesdays at 8 p.m. in the Council Schools, Love Lane. An important meeting is being arranged for March 8. Will all interested communicate with Mrs. Warren?

Tuesday, March 1st.—Rayleigh Council School, Love Lane, 8 p.m.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—23, Paradise Street. Organiser—Miss Dorothy Evans.

Excellent meetings have been addressed by Mrs. Impay, Lady Isobel Margesson, Dr. Helena Jones, Miss Gladys Hazel, and others. Open-air meetings are being held, and a poster parade to advertise the At Homes take place at 11 a.m. every Saturday. Miss Ryland will welcome volunteers.

Friday, 25th.—Poster Parade, 11 a.m.; Temperance Hall, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 8 p.m.

Saturday, 26th.—Poster Parade, 11 a.m.; Barton's Arms, Open-Air Meeting, Miss Dale.

Tuesday, March 1st.—At Home, Miss Charlotte Marsh, 3.30 p.m. and 7.30 p.m.

Wednesday, March 1st.—Wolverhampton, At Home, Miss Charlotte Marsh.

Thursday, March 3rd.—Drawing-room Meeting, given by the Lady Isobel Margesson, Miss Marsh.

Friday, March 4th.—Ball-Ring, Dr. Jones.

COVENTRY.

Coventry members are preparing to hold a Mission in the latter part of April.

DERBY.

Organiser—Miss Eliza Dye, 12, Curzon Street.

Several meetings have been addressed by Mrs. Bessie Smith and Miss Una Dugdale. Preparations for Mrs. Pankhurst's April meeting are being vigorously pushed forward.

Friday, 25th.—St. Thomas's Institute, Fox Tree Road, Miss Josephine, Miss Hooper.

LEICESTER AND DISTRICT.

Office—24, Bowring Green Street.

Organiser—Miss D. Pethick.

Mrs. Pankhurst's preliminary At Home on Friday went off well. Several new members were made, and it is hoped that every member will volunteer to do some canvassing in preparation for the Woman's Mission, now so near. The afternoon meetings during the mission commence at 3 p.m., and the evening meetings at 8. Handbills, with full information, can be obtained from the organiser. Being now in possession of a shop, members will have their own centre of activity. Volunteers are wanted to "keep shop," and contributions in money or kind are invited to make it all it should be. Particularly, small chairs and two tables, either on loan or as a gift, are required. Mrs. Bennett has very kindly promised a roll-top desk, Mrs. Taylor a screen and curtain, and Mrs. Peake is lending a form and a stove. Mrs. Hickey is giving an inkstand, and Miss Corcoran has promised a mat-rug in the colours. A members' meeting and "shop-warming" will take place on Saturday, March

also note that the Castlegate Lecture Hall has been engaged for the occasion in place of Room 75 (Mechanics'). The dates of the Woman's Mission have now been definitely fixed for Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, March 21, 22, and 23, at the large East Circus Street Hall, at 8 p.m.

West of England.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton.

Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney.

Mrs. Pankhurst addressed an overflowing audience of women last Monday, many being turned away for want of room. This was the introduction of the Woman's Mission, when Mrs. Pankhurst will again speak—April 14, 15, 16. Only a few days remain before Miss Christabel Pankhurst's Colston Hall meeting. Will every member do her utmost to make this meeting known, by canvassing, chalking, giving out handbills at theatres, concerts, and from house to house. Thanks to the Misses E. and M. Fussell, a successful meeting was held at Kingswood last Tuesday, and Miss Douglas Smith addressed an afternoon meeting for women in Bedminster.

Monday, 25th.—Victoria Rooms, At Home, Miss Annie Kenney, 3.30 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Colston Hall, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Chair. Miss Annie Kenney, 8 p.m.

Monday, March 7th.—Victoria Rooms, At Home, Miss Rachel Barrett, 3.30 p.m.

BATON.

An excellent meeting was addressed by Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Douglas Smith in the Guildhall last Friday. The audience included several working men, who asked numerous questions and showed great interest.



[By the courtesy of the "Daily Sketch."]

A NEW USE FOR UMBRELLAS.
A Poster Parade in the Rain at Manchester

5, in the shop (see above), when it is hoped all members will make an effort to attend, as future plans will be under consideration. The "Mock Trial" was a great success, and both jury and audience gave their verdict for the Suffragette. Over forty people attended the Loughborough At Home—a most enthusiastic gathering.

Tuesday, March 1st.—Kibworth, Village Hall, Miss D. Pethick. Chair: Mrs. Pemberton Peake, 7.30 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Loughborough, At Home, Miss Pethick, 4 to 6 p.m.

Thursday, March 3rd.—Leicester, Old Town Hall, At Home, Mrs. Lazarine Yates, 4.30 p.m. and 8 p.m.

Tuesday, March 8th.—Leicester, Association Hall (women only), Mrs. Pankhurst, 3-6 p.m.

Wednesday, March 9th.—Leicester, Association Hall (women only), Mrs. Pankhurst, 3-6 p.m.

Thursday, March 10th.—Leicester, Association Hall (women only), Mrs. Pankhurst, 3-6 p.m.

Friday, March 11th.—Leicester, Temperance Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst, 8 p.m.

N.B.—During the Mission (March 8 to 11) afternoon meetings will commence at 3 p.m. instead of 4.30.

NORTHAMPTON AND DISTRICT.

W.S.P.U. Organiser—Miss Gimson, 10, Holly Road.

Members and friends are asked to note that the weekly meetings will be held in the Oriental Café, Abington Street, and not in the Y.M.C.A., as previously announced. Next week Miss Brackenbury will be the speaker, and Miss FitzPatrick will preside. Members are still wanted to sell the paper in the streets. Who will volunteer?

Tuesday, March 1st.—Oriental Café, Weekly Meeting, Miss Barbara Ayrton, 8 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—6, Carlton Street.

Organisers—Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts.

Will members and friends note that the At Home announced for Thursday takes place instead to-day (Friday), at 8 p.m. Mrs. Pankhurst will be present, and members and friends are invited to rally in force. Will they

interest. *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is sold on Saturday mornings in Milson Street, and volunteers are asked for for Frome, Bradford-on-Avon, Trowbridge, and Chippenham.

Friday, 25th.—Guildhall, Miss Morris, 8 p.m.

NEWPORT (MON.).

Office—46, Clarence Place.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc.

The great event of last week was Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting for women at the Lyceum Theatre on Thursday. It was a brilliant success. Long queues of women were waiting outside for half an hour before the doors were opened, and when the meeting began every part of the theatre was crowded out, and large numbers were turned away. The women listened eagerly to Mrs. Pankhurst's speech, and applauded freely. The number of questions asked were quite a feature of the meeting, and showed the keen interest taken by Newport women in politics. Miss Barrett took the chair, and Mrs. D. A. Thomas and Mrs. Pillitteri also spoke. Members are looking forward to the Woman's Mission, the first week in May.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Bridge Street, Open-Air Meeting, Miss Barrett.

Thursday, 3rd.—Palace Court, Savoy Hotel, At Home, Mrs. Mackwith, Miss Pillitteri.

Friday, 4th.—Harry Small Masonic Hall, Miss Lester Jones, Miss Barrett, 7.30 p.m.

North-Eastern Counties.

way. At the first of the series of schoolroom meetings the women followed the speeches most appreciatively. A good many tickets for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting on March 14 have already been sold. Still more workers are needed to make the canvassing complete and effective. Will volunteers write, or call (preferably in the morning) at the office.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Usher Street School, Mrs. Belford, Miss Mary Phillips, 7.30 p.m.

Friday, March 4th.—Drummond Road School, Mrs. Hardy Bohens, Miss Mary Phillips, 7.30 p.m.

Monday, March 14th.—Central Baths Hall, Great Women's Demonstration, Mrs. Pankhurst, 8 p.m.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Grace Kee, "Southlands," Gipsey Hill, B.E.

A campaign will be conducted in Ipswich from Monday, February 28, and the organiser will be very glad if members and friends willing to help will communicate with her as soon as possible. The Rev. Dr. Cobb has very kindly offered to speak at Debdenham and Risangles soon after Easter. Will any members and friends arrange drawing-room meetings, especially between February 28 and March 8, when Miss Marie Brackenbury will be in Ipswich?

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—77, Blackett Street.

Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 288, Westgate Road.

Meetings for this week include one at Whitely Bay on Tuesday and at Gateshead on Friday. It is hoped that Mrs. Taylor will open 77, Blackett Street next Wednesday, March 3. Donations for the chairs will be gratefully received. Miss Violet Taylor, in addition to the £8 already acknowledged, has sent a further five guineas for the writing desk, which in a previous report was mentioned as being Mrs. Taylor's gift. Mrs. Peele, of Hexham, has also most generously sent £10 to the furnishing fund. The organiser hopes to see a big rally of members at the weekly At Homes when the new room is opened, and they are invited always, if possible, to bring friends. Will ladies who have large kitchens sometimes arrange a meeting for servants and their friends? The audience at the Wylam meeting last Thursday showed great interest in the movement, and new members were made.

Friday, 25th.—Gateshead, Miss Williams and others, 3.30 p.m.

Monday, 28th.—Newcastle, Forest Hall, Mrs. Atkinson, Miss Williams, 3.30 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Newcastle, At Home, 77, Blackett Street, Mrs. Taylor.

Thursday, March 3rd.—Jarrow, Presbyterian Hall, Miss Williams and others, 3.30 p.m.

SCARBOROUGH.

Hon. Sec., Miss Suffield, 33, Barwick Street.

The first monthly At Home of the Scarborough W.S.P.U. will be held at 13, The Cliff, on March 9, at 4 p.m. Miss Marie Brackenbury will be the speaker. Miss Bremner is expected to preside, and Dr. Marion Mackenzie will act as hostess.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 112, Whitfield Road.

The first members' meeting was held in the Nether Chapel on Tuesday, and great enthusiasm was displayed by those present, who subscribed £30 per year to the rent of a central meeting place; this it is hoped to secure shortly. The total cost will amount to £100 a year at least. Drawing-room meetings have been arranged by Miss Hitch and Mrs. Daniel Evans, and the organiser hopes that others will be held later.

LEEDS.

Office—114, Albion Street.

Sympathisers are invited to call at the office, where full information as to meetings, etc., will be given.

YORK.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Coulta, 68, Nunthorpe Road.

A meeting is being arranged for March 2. Will all interested communicate with Mrs. Coulta?

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.

Central Office—184, Oxford Road, Manchester.

Organisers—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Rona Robinson.

Manchester's Mission to Women has now begun, and profitable results have already been obtained. The Prestwich Co-operative Hall was quite full at the opening meeting, when Miss Mary Gawthorpe and Miss Robinson addressed a splendid meeting, at which new members were made and new workers obtained. As this was the first meeting held in this district both men and women were admitted, and a resolution calling upon the local member, Sir Frederick Gawley, M.P., to ballot for a place for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill to be introduced this session was carried with only five dissentients. The excellent meeting held in the Rusholme Public Hall was for women only; the same speakers had a most attentive hearing. A good many of the new visitors present came to the

tions of the Woman's Mission were explained by Miss Robinson (in the chair) and Miss Gathorne. Splendid help during the week has been rendered by Miss Allison Toombs and Miss Bertha Lee. This week's meetings include one in the St. Michael's Schools, Hulme, and one in the Altrincham Institute. Then follow a series of meetings to be conducted by members, and leading up to Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to the Manchester district on February 28, March 1 and 2, particulars of which appear below.

The dance committee is receiving applications for tickets for the Chorlton-on-Medlock Town Hall on Friday (March 11). Dancing will be from 8 to 2 a.m., and members who require circulars should apply to Miss Hebe Smith at the office. Tickets (lady or gentleman) are 5s. each. (See page 337.)

Friday, 25th.—Onward Buildings, Deansgate, At Home, the Lady Isabel Margesson, Miss Rosa Robinson, 8 p.m.

Saturday, 26th.—Votes Corps.

Monday, 28th.—Pendleton Town Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, 3 p.m.; Broughton Town Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, M.Sc., Miss Jessie Russell, 8 p.m.

Tuesday, March 1st.—St. Baldred's Hall, Bowdon, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, 3 p.m.; West Didsbury, Public Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Oldham, Miss Mary Gathorne, Mrs. Baines; Penistone, Miss Rosa Robinson, 8 p.m.

Thursday, March 3rd.—Flixton, Drill Hall, Miss Mary Gathorne, Miss Rosa Robinson, Miss Annie Rose, 8 p.m.

Friday, March 4th.—Onward Buildings, Deansgate, At Home, Miss Mary Gathorne, Miss R. Robinson. Saturday, March 5th.—Votes Corps.

Friday, March 11th.—Chorlton Town Hall, Dance, 8 p.m. to 2 a.m.

LIVERPOOL.

Office—28, Berry Street.

Organiser—Miss S. Ada Flatman.

Several excellent meetings during the past week have been addressed by the Lady Isabel Margesson, the one at Huyton, arranged by Mrs. Avery, being the first held there; much interest was shown by the crowded audience. Plans are well in hand for the Woman's Mission. Will all desirous of helping meet the organiser at the office next Wednesday, at 7 p.m. Those who cannot help by canvassing, etc., may like to send donations to defray the heavy expenses.

General Election Campaign Fund cards should be sent in without delay. Mrs. Avery will be glad to receive names of volunteers for selling VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets.

Friday, 25th.—Votes Sale at Station, 4.30 p.m.

Saturday, 26th.—Votes Sale at Station and Ferry, 2 p.m.

Tuesday, March 1st.—46, Mount Pleasant, Miss Flatman and others, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Meeting of Mission Workers at Office, 28, Berry Street, 7 p.m.

BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.
Organiser—Miss Laura Alnsworth, 1, Myrtle Street, Bolton.

Offers of drawing-rooms will be gladly welcomed by the organiser. On March 2 a members' meeting will be held at 1, Myrtle Street at 7 p.m., when plans will be made as to the campaign. Will members please note this? They are invited to bring friends.

Meetings are being arranged in Harwood and Farnworth. Miss Holden has kindly offered her house for a meeting in Harwood on March 9. This will be a preliminary meeting to one in the Walsh Institute on the 16th. It is hoped to announce one in Darcy Lever next, and Horwich will be visited in turn. When a suitable room has been found in Bolton, regular weekly evening meetings will be arranged. The organiser is at home every Thursday afternoon from 3 to 5, and will be pleased to see members and friends.

A house-to-house canvass is doing a great deal in arousing interest in the movement. Wednesday, March 2nd.—1, Myrtle Street, Members Meeting, 7 p.m.

OLDHAM.

Organiser—Mrs. Baines, 28, Chief Street.

"The Suffragettes have arrived." Numerous meetings are being held at factory gates and in halls, and it is hoped that a strong local W.S.P.U. will be formed as a result.

Friday, 25th.—Oldham, Market Place, Mrs. Baines and others.

Saturday, 26th.—Oldham, Market Place, Miss Patricia Woodcock and others.

Sunday, 27th.—Rochdale, Town Hall Square, Miss Harris.

Monday, 28th.—Shaw, Market Place, Mrs. Baines; Waterhead, Market Place, Miss P. Woodcock.

Tuesday, March 1st.—Hollinwood, Miss Harris.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Oldham, Co-operative Hall, Miss Mary Gathorne, Mrs. Baines.

Friday, March 11th.—Lancaster, Grand Theatre, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss M. Gathorne, and Mrs. Baines.

Saturday, March 12th.—Lancaster, Reception, Miss Selina Martin.

PRESTON.

Organiser—Miss Margaret Hewitt, 41, Gloves'n'Court.

At Homes are being arranged at the office. Tickets for the Chorley Town Hall meeting are 1s., 6d., and 3d. They may be obtained from the "News" Office, Chorley, and also from Miss Hewitt. It is hoped also to have an At Home in the Town Hall, Chorley, in the afternoon, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. Intending stewards should communicate with Miss Hewitt.

Monday, 28th.—Chorley Market Place, Miss Hewitt, 2 p.m.

Tuesday, March 1st.—41, Gloves'n'Court, Preston. Members' Social, 8 p.m., Cannon Street Church, Miss Margaret Hewitt, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Chorley Town Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Margaret Hewitt, 8 p.m.

SCOTHPOROUGH.

Office—28, Neville Street.
Organiser—Miss Dora Marston.

The adverse verdict in the case reported in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN has proved more helpful to the understanding of the militant campaign than, possibly, a favourable one would have been. Letters have crowded into the local Press protesting against the judgment; visitors have crowded to the W.S.P.U. offices. One correspondent, a woman, sent two guineas towards the Defence Fund, and offered to help the cause in every possible way. A man offered to stand his share of the expense if the woman would proceed further, while a local newspaper said the Southport people would have in future reason for less confidence in their "great unpaid." A strenuous fortnight is before the members in preparation for Mrs. Pankhurst's visit. The reception in the Cambridge Hall following the Empire meeting will be largely social, and the services of excellent vocalists have been secured. For Mission meetings see below. Mr. Laurence Housman's visit has given very great pleasure.

Tuesday, March 1st.—St. Baldred's Hall, Bowdon, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, 3 p.m.; West Didsbury, Public Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Oldham, Miss Mary Gathorne, Mrs. Baines; Penistone, Miss Rosa Robinson, 8 p.m.

Thursday, March 3rd.—Flixton, Drill Hall, Miss Mary Gathorne, Miss Rosa Robinson, Miss Annie Rose, 8 p.m.

Friday, March 4th.—Onward Buildings, Deansgate, At Home, Miss Mary Gathorne, Miss R. Robinson.

Saturday, March 5th.—Votes Corps.

Friday, March 11th.—Chorlton Town Hall, Dance, 8 p.m. to 2 a.m.

Scotland.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Shop and Office—28, Sauchiehall Street.

Organiser—Miss G. Conolan.

The outlying districts are doing splendid work. The Bridge of Weir members are helping with the Paisley meeting, and it is hoped that the group of members at Largs may also be able to arrange one very shortly in that town. Mrs. Reid has kindly arranged a drawing-room meeting on the Southside. Miss Conolan would be very glad to hear from other members who can help in these ways, in order that she may notify them when speakers are available. Now that the movement has spread so far round Glasgow, it is only by the independent efforts of members that it can be carried on successfully. A very successful meeting was addressed by Miss Barrowman at the Adult School, where it was evident that the women had only to understand the benefit of the vote in order to have their interest and sympathy aroused. In spite of the stormy weather, some very good open-air meetings have been held by Miss Savage and other members. There will be no At Home to-morrow (Saturday) at the Charing Cross Hall, but the At Home will be held as usual on March 5, when Mrs. Brailsford will speak.

Tuesday, March 1st.—Paisley Town Hall, Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Conolan, 3.15 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Stirling, Drawing Room Meeting, Mrs. Brailsford, Mrs. Manners, 3 p.m.

Saturday, March 5th.—Glasgow At Home, Charing Cross Hall, Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Conolan, 3 p.m.

Monday, March 7th.—Helensburgh, Victoria Hall, Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Conolan, 3.30 p.m.

April 28th to 30th.—Glasgow Exhibition and Sale of Work, Charing Cross Hall.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Office—8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street.

Organiser—Miss Burns.

Members are concentrating their attention on preparations for the Scottish Exhibition and on their regular meetings. The At Home last week was particularly interesting, when Miss Irwin, General Secretary of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, gave the result of her years of patient investigation into the condition of sweated women workers. Mrs. Ord's most enjoyable drawing-room meeting and Mrs. Drummond's address at Penicuik, when many new workers were secured for the Scottish Exhibition, have been notable events of the week. A large At Home at the Oak Hall, Edinburgh Café, is being arranged; Mrs. Brailsford and the Rev. S. H. Mellone will be the speakers. Members are asked to bring their friends, so that the circle of regular attendants at these At Homes may grow steadily greater.

Friday, 25th.—Exhibition Work Party, 7.30 p.m.

Monday, 28th.—Exhibition Work Party, 10.30 a.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Work Party, 2.30 p.m.

Thursday, March 3rd.—Oak Hall, Edinburgh Café, At Home, Mrs. Brailsford, Rev. S. H. Mellone, M.A., D.Sc., 3.15; 8, Melville Place, At Home, Mrs. Brailsford, Rev. S. H. Mellone, M.A., D.Sc., 8 p.m.

DUNDEE.

Office—33, Union Street.

Organiser—Miss McLean.

It has been decided to hold a series of women's meetings, and preliminary canvassing of ratepayers has begun. A preliminary meeting at 33, Union Street will take place next Wednesday. Will canvassers volunteer? So far the response has been most encouraging. Friends are also reminded of the Exhibition work-parties at the shop on Tuesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, and they are asked to take tickets as soon as possible for the social evening on Saturday, March 5, in the Y.M.C.A. Hall, when Mrs. Brailsford will be the guest, and J. Percy Sturrock, Esq., and others will speak. An excellent musical programme is being arranged by Miss Grant and Miss Fleming, while Miss Peebles is superintending tea arrangements. Tickets are 1s. each. At next week's regular meeting, instead of speakers there will be a series of short papers and criticisms by the members, in view of future work. Miss Gathorne will be in Dundee on March 19 and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield and Mrs. Mansel, who are revisiting Dundee on March 15, will also speak.

Saturday, March 5th.—Y.M.C.A. Hall, Social Meeting, Mrs. Brailsford, 7.30 p.m.

Wednesday, March 16th.—Miss Mary Gathorne.

Saturday, March 19th.—Giffnock Hall, Miss Mary Gathorne, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Mrs. Mansel.

PRESTON.

Organiser—Miss Margaret Hewitt, 41, Gloves'n'Court.

At Homes are being arranged at the office.

Tickets for the Chorley Town Hall meeting are 1s., 6d., and 3d. They may be obtained from the "News" Office, Chorley, and also from Miss Hewitt. It is hoped also to have an At Home in the Town Hall, Chorley, in the afternoon, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak.

Intending stewards should communicate with Miss Hewitt.

Monday, 28th.—Chorley Market Place, Miss Hewitt, 2 p.m.

Tuesday, March 1st.—41, Gloves'n'Court, Preston. Members' Social, 8 p.m., Cannon Street Church, Miss Margaret Hewitt, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, March 2nd.—Chorley Town Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Margaret Hewitt, 8 p.m.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE METROPOLIS.

(For Full List of Meetings see page 344.)

General Offices: W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Members in London have given all their time during the past weeks to the Woman's Mission; this is now practically over, but the results are permanent, and will add greatly to the energies of the London campaign. Meantime the news came of a contest in St. George's in the East; and the W.S.P.U. at once opened Committee Rooms at 296, Cable Street, E.C. For further details see p. 337.

The next great event is the Albert Hall meeting on March 18, when the leaders of the movement will speak. Members wishing to act as stewards should send their names to Miss Hambling, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn.

The W.S.P.U. Drum and Fife Band made a brave show on Thursday evening, when Miss Charlotte Marsh was welcomed at St. James's Hall. Among other engagements the band will be at Brixton to-night, and at Kensington tomorrow. It will also take part in the By-Election.

Volunteers are wanted for selling VOTES FOR WOMEN. Every Friday at 11 a.m. women form a "poster parade" from Clements Inn for this purpose, and sellers are also needed for the street pitches, especially at Oxford Circus, Piccadilly Circus, and Victoria Station, and in Parliament Square.

In order to add to the ranks of speakers, a speakers' class is being formed, and the first meeting will take place to-morrow (Saturday) at 2, New Road, Campden Hill, kindly lent by the Misses Brackenbury (Notting Hill Gate Station). The class will meet at 8 p.m.

Will members and friends make known the two London free weekly meetings at Queen's Hall on Monday evenings, and at St. James's Hall on Thursday evenings? For speakers next week, see Announcements, p. 344.

ACTON AND EALING.

Organiser—Miss Isabel Kelley, 4, Clements Inn.

A vigorous campaign has begun in this district. The Grand Hall, Acton Public Baths, has been engaged for a ticket meeting on Tuesday, March 15, at 8 p.m., at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak. Workers are urgently needed, and those willing to help should communicate with Miss Kelley without delay.

BATTERSEA.

Joint Hon. Secs.—Miss Hudson, 83, Albert Palace Mansions; Battersea Park; Mrs. Dalton, 38, Albert Bridge Road, Battersea.

The workers here are not allowing the ground gained at the General Election to lie fallow. The district has been divided into wards, and is to be assiduously canvassed. A good meeting was held last week in Brown's Dancing Academy, when the women present listened with great interest to Miss Green.

BRIXTON.

Office—248, Stockwell Road. Tel.: 287 Brixton.

Organiser—Miss Helen Gragg.

To-night (Friday, 25th) Miss Christabel Pankhurst and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield are speaking at the Avondale Hall (see Programme, page 344), and the W.S.P.U. Band is starting from 248, Stockwell Road, at 7 p.m., to march through Brixton, arriving at the hall at a few minutes to 8 p.m.

As the expenses during the Woman's Mission have been very heavy members and friends who wish success to the Brixton Mission are asked to add more shillings to the fund. Mrs. Tyson has given much of her time and subscribed generously to the funds, as well as paying all tea expenses of the Band. The following sums are gratefully acknowledged:—Mrs. Tyson, £1; Mrs. Bowker, 10s.; Miss Fryer, 10s.; Mrs. Powell, 5s.; P. W. Peacock, Esq., 2s. 6d.; Anon, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Smith, 1s.; the Misses Townley, 2s.; the Misses Funnell, 1s. 6d.; Miss Leslie Lawless, 1s.; Mrs. Read, 1s.; Miss B. Hale, 1s.; Mrs. Theodore Brown, 1s.; Miss Mitchell, 1s.; Miss Tyson, 6d.; Tea Fund, 3s.; collection (women's meetings), 17s. 10d. An account of the Bon Marché meeting is unavoidably held over till next week.

CAMBERWELL.

MORSEY.

Joint Hon. Secs.—Miss Alice Browne, 11, Gladsmuir Road, Highgate; Miss Bonwick, 28, Weston Park, Crouch End.

The Mission work has kept all helpers busy, and has been a great success. Of the various meetings perhaps the best attended was that held on Thursday last week, when Miss Bonwick spoke on "The Woman Voter in Other Lands." The last of these special meetings will be held to-day (Friday) at 8 p.m. in the Hanley Hall, Crouch Hill (tickets 1s, 6d., and 3d.). Members should bring their friends to hear such splendid speakers as Mr. H. N. Brailsford and Miss Douglas Smith.

Members came forward generously to help financially at the time of the General Election, but the expenses of the Mission have now almost emptied the exchequer, and the secretaries appeal for further contributions to be sent to Miss Browne.

M.F.O.R.D.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel Haslam, 68, Granbrook Road.

Successful meetings have been held this week. Miss Stevenson spoke on Tuesday, and on Friday members had the pleasure of hearing Miss Marie Brackenbury at a drawing-room meeting, the hostess being Mrs. Whitten. Several new members have come forward to help, and the sale of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is very encouraging. Members have been asked to speak at several local societies. A Suffragette was amused while selling papers to hear one small boy saying to another, "Buy *VOTES FOR WOMEN*? Not me! Why, I know a man who bought *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and 'e started a-readin', and 'e kept on a-readin' and a-readin', and 'e—in a tone of horror—"e couldn't never leave off!" Votes corps on Saturday, 7 p.m., at above address.

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2118 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Eates and Miss Morrison, B.A.

A great deal of excellent spade work has been done in North Kensington during the Mission week. The canvassers have everywhere had a most sympathetic reception, and the afternoon meetings have been well attended by deeply interested women, some of whom had never been to any kind of Suffrage meeting before. *VOTES FOR WOMEN* has sold very well, and new members have been gained. The open-air meetings have attracted large crowds, and much useful propaganda work has

been done. Now that the Mission is over helpers are asked to turn their attention to working up South Kensington for Miss Pankhurst's meeting in the Kensington Town Hall on March 4. A great deal of canvassing, bill-distributing, poster-parading, etc., will have to be done in order to advertise the meeting. Bill-distributors and paper-sellers will be specially needed tomorrow (Saturday) afternoon, when the W.S.P.U. band is to visit Kensington to advertise the meeting. At the weekly meeting at 2, Campden Hill Square at 8 p.m. on March 1 the speaker will be the Rev. G. E. Startup. On March 2 the monthly At Home will be held from 4 to 6 p.m. at 2, Phillimore Terrace (by kind permission of Mrs. Ferguson). Mr. Cameron Grant will speak. More *VOTES FOR WOMEN* sellers are needed for the High Street and Westbourne Grove pitches, and also for North Kensington, where there is now a fine opening for the sale of the paper. Thanks are due to "Anon." for 10s. towards the expenses of Mission week; to Mrs. Hartley Withers for iced cakes for sale at the shop; and to Mrs. Clayton and Mrs. Morrison for home-made marmalade. The marmalade is selling rapidly, and further supplies would be very welcome.

LEWISHAM.

Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bourier.

Twelve open-air meetings have been held in different parts of Lewisham since February 15, at which handbills for Miss Pankhurst's meeting at the Ladywell Baths have been distributed. A conspicuous feature was the large number of women, who evidently came not only to listen but to ask questions. Over 100 women attended the indoor meeting at Trinity Hall, Forest Hill, on Thursday, when Miss Marsh gave a stirring address, and Mrs. McKenzie presided. Miss Downing kindly provided tea. Although the women were poor, many of them gave to the collection, which amounted to 2s. 3d. Many "Antia" were present at Mrs. Park's drawing-room meeting on Saturday, and were favourably impressed by Mrs. Eates. Mrs. French presided. The Treasurer, on behalf of the Shop Committee, will be pleased to receive promises of weekly or monthly contributions towards shop rent, no matter how small. Friends are also reminded of the Employment Bureau and the jumble sale. In addition to £2 7s. 6d. already acknowledged, the following members have contributed

London Meetings during the Forthcoming Week.

Feb.				
Friday, 25	...	Brixton, Avondale Hall, Landor Road, Stockwell; Brook Green, 12, Luxembourg Gardens, Chiswick, 369, High Road, Drawing-room Meeting; Clapham, Venn Street, Wiltemberg Street; Clements Inn, Crouch Hill, Hanley Hall.	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Chair: Hon. Mrs. Haverfield; Miss Yeldham and Miss McKenzie ..	8 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
Saturday, 26	...	Denmark Hill, Danvers Road, 147, Harley Street, W.; Kensington, 23, Launceston Place, S.W. Drawing Room Meeting; Stratford, The Grove; Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent, The Broadway.	Mrs. Eates .. Miss McKenzie .. Miss Canning .. Poster Parade .. H. N. Brailsford, Esq., Miss Bonwick .. Miss Theresa Garnett .. Speakers' Class ..	3.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 11 a.m. 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8.15 p.m.
Sunday, 27	...	2, New Road, Camperdown Hill; Clapham, Crescent Road; Ilford, Poster Parade; Peckham Rye, Outside Tabernacle; Richmond, Heron Court; Clapham Common; Penge, Clarion Club; Wimbledon Common.	Mrs. Eates, G. Warre Cornish, Esq., Mrs. Sleight .. Lecture by Mrs. Lamartine Yates .. Speakers' Class .. Miss McKenzie ..	8.45 p.m. 8 p.m. 3.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 3 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 12 noon. 3 p.m. 8 p.m. 3 p.m.
Monday, 28	...	Dulwich Literary Society, Debate with Dr. Cowbourn, Men's Anti-Suffrage League; Tintagel Crescent; Forest Gate, Eastham Hall; Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.	Mrs. M. Cameron, Miss A. Wright .. Mrs. McKenzie .. Mrs. Lamartine Yates and others ..	8.15 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 3-8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 3 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
March.	Tuesday, 1	Dulwich, Lochinvar Street; Dulwich, Hanger Hall, Lordship Lane; Kensington, 2, Campden Hill Square; 100, Hammersmith, R. ad, At Home; Peckham, Triangle; West Croydon, 2, Station Buildings, At Home.	Miss H. Ogston .. Miss Theresa Garnett .. Miss Bonwick .. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Mansel, and Rev. J. Carmichael Robinson .. Miss McKenzie and others .. Miss Joachim .. Rev. G. E. Startup .. Mrs. Rowe, Miss Ads Wright .. Miss Theresa Garnett .. Miss Wilson, Miss L. Hall, Chair: Mrs. Cameron-Swan .. Miss Thompson .. Miss H. Ogston, Miss Joan Dugdale ..	8 p.m. 8 p.m.
Wednesday, 2	...	Camberwell, Grove Lane; Chelsea, 27, King's Road; Clapham, St. Anne's Hall, Venn Street, 46, Lynton Avenue, Drawing Room Meeting; Dulwich, 260, Bury Road, Drawing-room Meeting; Manor Park, Open Air Meeting at "The Rabbits"; Kensington, W.S.P.U., Monthly At Home, 2, Phillimore Terrace, W.; Upper Norwood, Drawing Room Meeting; West Kensington Railway Station, Wood Green, Annual Members' Meeting, Unity Hall; Clapham, Wiltemberg Street; Crouch End, Assembly Rooms.	Hostess: Miss Polkinghorne .. Hostess: Mrs. Hassford, Mrs. Cecil Chapman ..	7.30 p.m. —
Thursday, 3	...	Dulwich, Library, 905, Fulham Road; Hammersmith, Down Place; Hounslow, Reading Room; St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, W.	Mrs. Eates, J. Cameron Grant, Esq., Mrs. Eates, Chair: Mrs. Cameron-Swan .. Miss Kathleen Brown ..	8 p.m. 4-6 p.m. 3 p.m. 5.30 p.m.
Friday, 4	...	Clapham, Park Road; Denmark Hill, Danvers Road; Forest Gate, Sebert Road; Kensington Town Hall.	Mrs. Wright .. Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chair: Miss M. Ridwell .. Miss Jefford and Miss Dawson .. Speeches, Recitations .. Miss Kathleen Brown .. Miss Vera Wentworth .. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Brackenbury ..	8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Saturday, 5	...	Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent, The Broadway; Putney, Nutfield Road, W.; Peckham Rye, Queen's Head; Richmond, Heron Court.	Miss Theresa Garnett .. Miss Gilliat .. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, The Lady Emily Lutyns, The Rev. Hugh Chapman .. Mrs. Lamartine Yates .. Marylebone W.S.P.U.	8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m.

Important Future Events.

March.	Wednesday, 9	Dulwich, Imperial Hall, Grove Vale .. Hammersmith, Town Hall .. Bullion, Assembly Rooms .. Acton Public Hall (Hornsey Hall); Albert Hall.	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss A. Brackenbury .. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mansel .. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss McKenzie .. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and others .. Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Kathleen Brown, and others ..	8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m.
Friday, 12	...	...	...	8 p.m.
Sunday, 15	...	...	...	8 p.m.
Friday, 19	...	...	...	8 p.m.

New Members. Applications for Quarterly, see page 322-3.

Arqua

London PARIS

ROBES MANTEAUX

MADAME ARQUA will be pleased to receive Ladies by appointment in her Salons between the hours of 11 and 1, and 3 and 5, where can be seen the Mannequins displaying the latest creations of Parisian Art.

26 ALBEMARLE ST LONDON W

to the Special Mission Week Fund: — Mrs. Tagg, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Bouvier, 1s. Mrs. Billinghurst, instead of the 5s. mentioned last week, is generously paying all the expenses of the Drum and Fife Band.

MARYLEBONE.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Nourse, 26, Weymouth Street, W.

Daily outdoor meetings for nearly a fortnight have constituted the principal mission work. Now canvassers are urgently wanted. Will some ladies please volunteer? There is an exceptionally large number of women householders in Marylebone, and it is important that each should be visited.

N.W. LONDON.

Shop and Office—218, High Road, Kilburn. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell.

During the last week twenty-two hall meetings have been held by this Union, four being in Hendon and four in Harrow. Women of all classes have thus been reached; great interest has been aroused, and it is obvious that the work will bear good fruit. The meetings in Harrow and Hendon were especially successful. A canvass of women municipal voters was made with very encouraging results. A large number of outdoor meetings have also been held, which have been well attended and enthusiastic, in spite of the somewhat unfavourable weather. A whist drive and jumble sale are being held to cover the expenses of the mission. Tickets for the whist drive, which is to be held in the large room over the shop, can now be obtained, price, with refreshments, 2s.; and parcels for the jumble sale sent to the shop will be most gratefully received.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM.

Shop and Office—55, Fulham Road. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. H. Roberts, Miss Gaitan.

The new shop and the meetings in connection with the Women's Mission are arousing great interest. The principal speakers in connection with the Mission last week were Mrs. Tanner, Mrs. Furley-Smith, Miss Canning, Miss Kelly, Miss P. Ayrton, Miss Wurrie, Miss Wright, and Miss Leslie Hall, whose description of the treatment received by herself and Miss Selina Martin in Walton Gaol created a great impression. A series of weekly meetings will be held in the shop on alternate Thursdays (afternoons) and Fridays (evenings), the first being on Thursday, March 3, at 3 p.m. A member has kindly promised to lend a piano, and other friends have offered to sing or recite. It is hoped that these meetings will be recreative as well as educational. Members are asked to make these known as widely as possible. A whist drive is also to take place shortly. A hint to other shopkeepers who wish to attract customers comes from this local Union: the frequent window dressing has a miraculous effect. Special contributions to cover the expenses of this latter day have

been received from the following: — Mrs. Furley-Smith, 12s. 6d.; Mrs. Offer, 2s.; Miss Violet Offer, 6d.; Miss Hugheon, £1; Miss Everitt, 1s.; Miss Shannon, 10s.; Miss Cutten, 10s.; Miss Dixon, 2s. 6d.; Miss Cameron, 10s. Two members have kindly doubled their weekly guarantee. Members are asked to help towards the cost of a new floor-cloth for the kitchen. Miss Pankhurst's Town Hall meeting was advertised one day by a decorated wagonette; on another by canvassing, handbills, etc.; and on Friday last by the W.S.P.U. band. "I wonder how much it would cost to join!" "Well, they are smart!" "Aren't the uniforms pretty?" were typical of the remarks heard as it passed. Tickets for the Albert Hall can be had and a plan of the hall seen at 905, Fulham Road.

RICHMOND AND KEW.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Clayton, Glengariff, Kew Road, Richmond.

This year's open-air meetings began auspiciously last Saturday with a well-attended gathering addressed by Miss Coombs. There was a good collection. The indoor meetings are being resumed this week with Mrs. Mansel as speaker, the Rev. C. Hinckley taking the chair. The dramatic and musical entertainment on February 12 was very successful, and attracted a considerable audience. New members will be gladly welcomed, and an urgent appeal is again made for further contributions to enable the W.S.P.U. to open a shop as an educative centre. It is proposed shortly to form a speakers' class. The hon. secretary has tickets on sale for the great meeting at the Albert Hall on March 18.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop and Office—6, Victoria Crescent. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Loring, 21, Morton Hall Road.

At the At Home on Friday, February 18, Mrs. Lamartine Yates gave the first of a series of well-planned addresses intended to cover the whole ground of the movement. The subject was "Woman," and dealt largely with her responsibility to the race. A good collection was taken. Each Friday, at 3.30 p.m., one of the series will be taken. The subjects will be: — "Her Right to the Franchise; if not, why not?" "Woman's Feticism," "The Wheel of Destiny," "Birth and Infancy of the Woman's Movement," "Early Pioneers," "Preparing for Action: Early Skirmishes; Suffragist and Suffragette," "The Battle with Prejudice," "Victory in Sight." Their appeal is to educated women, and special invitations are being sent out to the women ratepayers of Wimbledon, of whom there are some 1,500.

The Sunday meeting on the Common had to be abandoned owing to the storm, although speaker and chairman were on the spot in case any residents braved the elements as they have done on previous occasions.

ECHOES OF MRS. PANKHURST'S AMERICAN VISIT.

At present she (Mrs. Gertrude Atherton) is much interested in Female Suffrage, from the English point of view. "I have lived long enough in England," said she the other day in New York, "to appreciate just what equal suffrage would mean to women over there. They have greater grievances than the women of this country, although there are public questions here and evils which will never be solved until the women can vote."

Mrs. Atherton's enthusiasm in the cause of her sex was largely increased, I judge, by a lecture which she heard Mrs. Pankhurst deliver recently in Chicago. "I never," said Mrs. Atherton, "heard a man lecture as logically as she did. Her talk was far better than anything I ever heard from the lips of the great men of England. She possesses that gracefulness of mind which is the gift of so many women in England."

—“The Bookman.”

We are permitted to quote from a private letter from Mrs. Henry Villard the following mention of Mrs. Pankhurst's last lecture in New York:-

"I want to tell you how deeply moved I was by Mrs. Pankhurst's farewell address at Cooper Institute. It seemed to me that I had never heard mortal speech so appealing, so uplifting. There were men in that audience who cried, and I know that it was with difficulty that I kept my own tears back."

—“Boston Woman's Journal.”

It was a deeply impressive moment when Mrs. Pankhurst bade her hearers farewell. She was going back to face once more possible imprisonment. . . . "But whatever the result is," she added, "we must win. There is nothing in this world that you cannot obtain if only you have courage and do not care what happens to you." She is indeed an heroic woman, and her spirit is that which animates her followers, too.

—“Union Labour Advocate.”

All who heard Mrs. Pankhurst will realise that she must be a formidable force when she goes into a campaign backed by thousands of other women animated with the same spirit; and the Liberals have played directly into the hands of the Suffragettes by the unfair and brutal way in which they have dealt with the women who take part in demonstrations.

—“Woman's Journal” (Boston).

An interesting article on "Women as a Factor in the Labour World" appears in the *Westminster Review* for February. The author is the Rev. F. W. Orde Ward, who has kindly contributed to these columns.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

A successful "house-warming" was held at the offices (13, Buckingham Street, Strand) of this Union last Friday. Mr. Victor Duval, hon. secretary, briefly explained that the policy of this union was and would be identical with that of the W.S.P.U. Miss Jessie Kenney, in a short address, thanked the men for what they had already done and wished them all success in their new offices. The hon. secretary gratefully acknowledges £1 from "A Militant Whose Hands are Tied." Members and friends are cordially invited to attend the weekly "tea fights," held every Monday, 5.30 to 7 p.m.; tea 6d. a head. Donations in aid of forthcoming by-election campaigns fund are solicited, and contributions in the way of folding chairs, tea things, etc., towards the furnishing of the offices will be very welcome.

SUFFRAGE MEETINGS IN IRELAND.

Under the auspices of the Belfast Women's Suffrage Society a meeting will be held at Ulster Hall, Belfast, on Wednesday, March 9, at 8 p.m., when Miss Mary Gawthorpe and others will speak. Tickets, price 1s. reserved, 6d. unreserved, may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Miss B. Bennett, 61, Scottish Temperance Buildings, Belfast.

In response to an invitation from the Irish Women's Franchise League, Miss Christabel Pankhurst will address a meeting in the Rotunda, Dublin, on March 11. Miss Tatlow, member of the committee, will take the chair. Tickets, price 2s., 1s., and 6d., can be obtained from Messrs. Cramer's and Messrs. Pigott's, and at 15, Upper O'Connell Street; 34, Wicklow Street, and at the League offices, Antient Concert Buildings.

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The harder you're thrown, why the higher you bounce;
Be proud of your blackened eye!
It isn't the fact that you're licked that counts;
It's how did you fight—and why?

EDWARD N. COOK.

Mr. Belloc, one of the members for Salford, recently made an assertion that the woman suffrage agitation was "grossly immoral," and in reply to an invitation to meet a suffrage worker in debate he has stated that he will debate only with a man, and on condition that no woman is admitted to the audience.



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 42. Why I Went to Prison. By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
 43. The Opposition of the Liberal Government to Woman Suffrage. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
 44. The Signs of the Times. What Prison Means. By Elizabeth Robins.
 45. Heckling Cabinet Ministers. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
 48. The Militant Methods. By Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.
 49. The Earl of Lytton on the Militant Methods of the W.S.P.U.
 50. A False Accusation.
 55. What Woman Suffrage Means in New Zealand. By Lady Stout.
 58. Mr. Asquith's "Pledge." By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
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 62. A Letter to Liberal Women. By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
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SOME PRESS EXTRACTS.

Scots who believe in Liberal principles ascribe to their leaders all the good qualities that consistency with high ideals would involve. Such faithful followers are worthy of better leaders than those mere politicians who have degraded Liberalism by seeking to degrade members of that unrepresented half of the community, the women of Britain, who have been imprisoned as those who prey upon society. They, the pioneers among women, have put present-day Liberalism to the test. They have found that Liberal leaders will not discuss, far less act up to, the principle they mouth in the words, "Government of the people, by the people, for the people," when this concerns woman. On the other hand, taxation is fully enforced in her case *without the consent of the governed*.

And the extravagance of this struggle for woman's enfranchisement: the enormous expense to which cities and municipalities throughout the country have been put in order to shield a few gentlemen, who happened to be Cabinet Ministers, from hearing some home-truths; the waste of time, and brain, and funds on all sides that the contest has already involved. Must this go on? It is for the voter to decide. He can at the ballot give his assent to the costly repressive measures indulged in by a Premier, to the insults and infringements of human rights accorded to women political prisoners during the past three years, and to the continuation of the same in the future. To all this he can, if he wishes, register assent by voting for the Liberal candidate in his constituency. "Can man be free and woman be a slave?" But for the overwhelming and unwholesome Liberal majority returned at the previous General Election, British women would not now be in the political position of slaves, while even the native Maori woman of New Zealand has received the hall-mark of citizenship—the Parliamentary vote.

— "St. Ronan's Standard" (Peeblesshire).

To the question "What else could the authorities do?" there is a very simple answer. They could have behaved, as the authorities in Scotland have behaved, like civilised people. Women against whom the charges were light might have been detained overnight and discharged in the morning. Women against whom the charges were comparatively heavy might, after conviction, have been permitted to inflict upon themselves the severe punishment of abstaining from food for as long as the doctor in attendance thought safe, and then released.

Will any serious-minded person maintain that the law of Scotland has lost prestige and dignity by refusing to carry force further? On the other hand, can any of us venture to assert that the tone and morale of English prison officials have not probably been lowered by the habit of systematic, permitted—nay, commanded—violence to the persons of prisoners? And if so, where does the ultimate responsibility rest, if not with the English elector, of whom the prison authorities, like other authorities in this country, are but the agents? How many English electors, I wonder, have protested, through their members of Parliament, against the deeds demanded in their name from their servants? How many will require from Parliamentary candidates an assurance that such demands shall not be made again?

—Miss Black in "The Christian Commonwealth."

The Women Suffragists did not get much from Mr. Asquith, but if they make the best of his words they may put their question in the next Parliament on a much firmer foundation. "It is clearly one of the issues on which the new House of Commons ought to be given an opportunity of expressing its views." In the face of this statement no member of the new Parliament can say that the question was not before the country at this election. A pledge from a candidate now is not merely an expression of abstract sympathy with the women's demand, but an emphatic promise to vote for women's franchise in the next Parliament.

—Philip Snowden in "The Christian Commonwealth."

The "right to petition" is an inalienable right appertaining to every subject, and . . . Lord Alverstone should, I venture to think,

have viewed the question from the broad, equitable side, and not from the narrow, pettifogging standpoint of what, when all is said and done, are only by-laws.

— "Irish Independent."

There is to be a truce of God, it would seem, for the present at least, between the militant Suffragists and the Government. Militant tactics have been suspended during the General Election, as they always have been at by-elections, and are not likely to be resumed for some time to come at least.

— "Manchester Guardian."

There is no doubt that the Radical Government has blundered into a morass in its dealings with women's suffrage. It has professed sympathy with the movement, but the practical expression of such sympathy has been akin to that of the Carpenter for the oysters in Carroll's verses. Leaders of the new crusade have been "singled out" for repression.

— "Manchester Courier."

A few honourable exceptions apart, the Press has done little or nothing to assist that woman's cause. . . . The Suffragettes, as they have come to be called, have, on the contrary, been made the target of insult and ridicule, until, driven to desperation, goaded beyond the power of endurance, they have taken the law into their own hands—the only resource left open to them.

— "Vanity Fair," in an article on Lady Cook.

The present-day Adam still says "Go home and mind the baby." Nevertheless, he is among the first to congregate at street corners and to listen to the latest thing on the woman question. In some ways the woman speaker has introduced a new element into political life. From the point of view of rhetoric and delivery she usually carries off the laurels.

— "Truth."

A MAN'S VIEW OF WOMAN'S POSITION.

Interesting addresses on India are being given in London by Sarah Kumar Ghosh, author of "The Prince of Destiny," which Messrs. Robman have recently published. In the first address the lecturer dealt with the position of woman, and said that generally speaking her position in India was higher than that of man in her own country or in any part of the world. The husband could not say his morning prayers or secure salvation without his wife's assent. The same applied to the ceremony after marriage, which the lecturer compared with the English confirmation. It was a popular Hindoo belief that in every family there was one woman looked on with particular favour by the goddess of benignity or good fortune, and as a man did not know which of his family was so honoured he felt bound to treat them all with respect and kindness. Indian women regarded the wearing of the veil as a distinction, and so far from their position as the family cook being derogatory, it was the reverse, for cooking in India was almost a religious rite. Those women who practised suttee were regarded as goddesses, the object being to secure immediate salvation for the woman and her husband.

WOMEN AND MUNICIPAL WORK.

It has been proposed to amend the Municipal Corporation Acts, and in this connection Councillor Margaret Ashton has suggested to the Lord Mayor of Manchester that if the lodger vote is granted to men, as in London, it should also be granted to women, and that married women should have the same franchise in the country as in the metropolitan area. At present, by a curious anomaly, married women may not sit on town or county councils except in London and Scotland. They are thus debarred from taking part in a work for which their experience should especially fit them.

A MOCK ELECTION.

A mock election, in which only the elder boys took part, was held at Merchant Taylor's School, Charterhouse Square, on February 11. Of the seven candidates, one was a Suffragist. On the eve of the poll, speeches were delivered by the candidates, and H. H. Sellar, the Votes for Women advocate, had an especially good hearing. Everyone understood that purple, white, and green were the colours of the Suffragist. Amongst other election posters were bills advertising the W.S.P.U. Monday At Homes, the Albert Hall meeting, and Votes for WOMEN, while W.S.P.U. literature and "The Women's Marseillaise" were distributed.

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The first of a series of At Homes was held at St. George's Hall, Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, on Wednesday afternoon, February 16. Lady Knightley of Fawsley (President of the Association) acted as hostess, and amongst the guests were Viscountess Gort, Lady Falmouth, Lady Mary Cooke, Lady Scott Moncrieff, the Hon. Lady Shelley, Lady Jane Taylor, Mrs. Percy Boulnois, Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, and Miss Edmonds. Speeches were delivered by Lady Knightley, Mrs. Tims, Mrs. Mylne, Miss Ruth Young, Miss Theilmann, Miss Power, and others. There was a very large attendance. The second of these At Homes will take place on March 2. Particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

A successful meeting was held by this society on February 17 at the Criterion Restaurant. Mrs. Cecil Chapman presided, and among the speakers were Mr. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Bull, and Mrs. Fagan. An effective appeal for funds was made by Mrs. Carl Hentschel, the Hon. Treasurer. Many new members joined, and a good collection was taken.

SUFFRAGE DEBATE AT HONG KONG.

From the *China Mail* we learn that a large gathering discussed woman suffrage at the Union Church Literary Club, Hong Kong, on January 19. Miss G. Briggs (for), Mr. E. F. Aucott (against), and the Rev. C. H. Hinkling (chair) were the chief speakers. The vote showed a decided majority in favour.

NOT A VOTER!

At a Birmingham school during the General Election the teacher of a girl's class allowed the girls to vote for the local candidates, while she acted as returning officer. One little girl did not vote, and when questioned explained: "I am a suffragette, and mother says they are not belonging to any party until women get votes." This ardent little rebel has since presented her teacher with two copies of *Votes for Women*.

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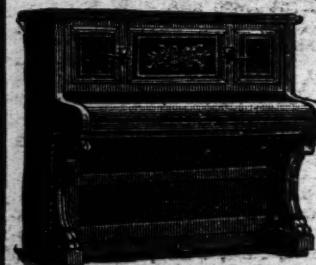
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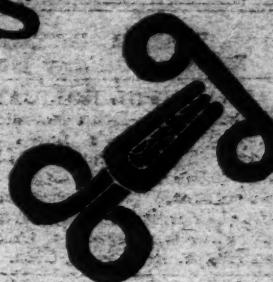
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